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## Nóbrega of Brazil

In the January number of this quarterly there appeared two articles on the Portuguese colonization of Brazil during the sixteenth century. These studies were intended to give a broad view of the manner in which the Society of Jesus was organized first in Portugal and then in Brazil. Few details were given about the men who came to Brazil to work in harmony toward building a strong colony. These representatives of the Church and state had to meet new, very vital problems; they had to form workable policies and practices based on great religious, humanitarian, and administrative principles. They built well in this raw land. Yet there is in English no worthy biography of any one of such outstanding governors as Thomé de Sousa, Duarte da Costa, and Mem de Sá, or of any one of the religious cooperators. We begin to carry out the promise to supply the need with a sketch of Nóbrega, who, as director of the foundations of the religious and social organization of the colony, worked with each of the three early governors.

### I. NOBREGA IN PORTUGAL

Mystery shrouds the place of birth in Portugal of Manuel da Nóbrega. He was born most probably on October 17, 1517.<sup>1</sup> Thus far no one has been able to trace his family lineage, though some very good historians have searched long hours in many places for scraps of accurate evidence.<sup>2</sup> His father has been identified

<sup>1</sup> Serafim Leite, *História da Companhia de Jesus no Brasil*, Rio de Janeiro, 1938, II, 461, 468.

<sup>2</sup> There are various one-page summaries of the life of Nóbrega. A longer, edifying sketch was printed by Father Antonio Franco at Lisbon in 1719; this, in the rare book class, is reprinted in *Cartas Jesuíticas*, I, Rio de Janeiro, 1931, 21-69. Leite's *História* assuredly covers all of the activities of Nóbrega, though not in convenient biography form. Simão de Vasconcellos, *Chronica da Companhia de Jesu do Estado do Brasil*, Lisbon, 1865, is useful as an outline but confusing in details. Perhaps the best full-length study in Portuguese is the recent work of José Mariz de Moraes, *Nóbrega: O primeiro Jesuíta do Brasil*, Rio de Janeiro, 1940, reprint from *Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro*.

as Baltasar da Nóbrega, who had been a chief magistrate but was deceased before 1541.<sup>3</sup> There is authority for saying that his maternal uncle was a lord chancellor. Nothing is known about his mother, his home, or his early life. There has come to light no official record of his existence before 1538 when his name got into the registrar's books at the University of Coimbra. Prior to this he had been favored by King John III with a subsidy to carry on his studies, an honor he may have received either through the prestige of his family, or because his father and uncle were esteemed officials, or because of the patronage of some noble.<sup>4</sup>

Manuel studied Latin in Coimbra and then went to Spain's renowned University of Salamanca for three years of law. He returned to the University of Coimbra for a final year before receiving his bachelor's degree on June 14, 1541. The event gives an opportunity to glimpse Nóbrega in his twenty-third year.

His professor in law was the noted Dr. Martim de Azpilcueta Navarro, a most human figure for all his learning.<sup>5</sup> The professor was of that rare type of student directors who become identified in the minds of their disciples with a university. He was an educator who formed characters, allowed for individual differences, and followed his students through life with a paternal and keen interest. Some of "his boys" later wrote letters to him from far colonial outposts. This master, whose decisions in canon law were respected all over Europe, termed Nóbrega a most scholarly student, one of his best, "illustrious for his knowledge, virtue, and lineage."<sup>6</sup> His genius for counteracting the spirit of diffidence in his students was illustrated in Nóbrega's case at the time of examinations. The young man, preparing to give in com-

Source materials—letters, reports, *cartas annuas*—have been published variously. A number of these written from Brazil were gathered by Afrâncio Peixoto and were finally published as *Cartas Jesuíticas I, II, III*, Rio de Janeiro, 1931-1933; these will be cited hereafter as CJ. To these another volume of documents has been added: Serafim Leite, *Novas Cartas Jesuíticas*, São Paulo, 1940; this will be cited as NCJ. (It is Vol. 194, Serie 5, of *Brasiliana* of the Biblioteca Pedagógica Brasileira.)

<sup>3</sup> CJ I, 21, Franco, *Vida*; Leite, *História*, II, 460, text and notes.

<sup>4</sup> CJ I, 22, Franco, *Vida*; Vasconcellos, *Chronica*, I, 6-7.

<sup>5</sup> Dr. Navarro (1492-1586), a Navarrese, was born near Pamplona, Spain, and was a second cousin of the mother of St. Francis Xavier. He taught fourteen years at Salamanca, and, sent by express order of Charles V to lecture at Coimbra, he did so for sixteen years in the University. His nephew, João de Azpilcueta Navarro, comes into our later pages as a very notable Jesuit linguist, missionary, and companion of Nóbrega; Francisco Rodrigues, *História da Companhia de Jesus na Assistência de Portugal*, Pôrto, 1931-1938, Tomo I, Vol. 1, 266, and Tomo I, Vol. 2, 616.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 2, 616; Leite, *História*, II, 462.

petition a sample lecture before faculty and student body, wanted to drop out and forego the bachelor's degree because he stammered. Dr. Navarro forced him to take the platform, and rejoiced when the judges awarded his protégé first place. The rector, however, stuck to certain legalities. Due to stammering, he argued, the contestant had not filled out the hour with words. A second timing had to be made to assure the rector about the verbal gaps, after which all but the rector again awarded the premium to the lecturer.<sup>7</sup>

Thus inspired, Manuel continued with studies in theology and became a priest at Coimbra. There seem to have been limits put to his ministerial work, since Father Nóbrega was a "Mass priest." Evidently, he intended to become a professor of canon law, rather than a pastor in some parish. A professorship was open at the monastery of Santa Cruz, for which he and another applicant lectured and debated before judges of the monastery. The vote was against him, or rather against his stammering. Thereupon, discouraged over his defect, he determined to have done forever with seeking honors in university halls. The precise dates of these happenings are not known, but on November 21, 1544, he entered the Society of Jesus.

He took up his abode as a novice of the Society in the Jesuit college near the University of Coimbra, having for companions seventy young and very zealous religious students. Coimbra was a school for apostolic men, a means chosen by John III to restore spiritual values in Portugal and a place to train missionaries for work in the colonies. Here Father Nóbrega in the very early years of the missionary life of the Society of Jesus began to grow and expand with the organization. He undertook menial work to discipline his soul in humility and obedience. By retreats, prayers, and spiritual exercises he trained himself in virtues which he would soon preach to others.<sup>8</sup>

Once finished with his novitiate, he pronounced his vows of religion, poverty, chastity, and obedience. His father superior assigned duties to him—preaching, hearing confessions, visiting prisoners in jails, and consoling the sick in hospitals. In administering to persons of all classes of the city in their spiritual and corporal needs he manifested a great kindness which drew sin-

<sup>7</sup> CJ I, 22-23, Franco, *Vida*.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Rodrigues, I, 1, 476 ff., and 507 ff. for the daily order and scheme of training novices; cf. Jerome V. Jacobsen, "Jesuit Founders in Portugal and Brazil," *MID-AMERICA*, XXIV (January 1942), 16-18, for a summary description of the import of Coimbra.

ners, criminals, and lax clergymen to paths of righteousness.<sup>9</sup> And from descriptions, Portugal was in need of revivalists of his type. Dramatic moments came into his daily life, as when he attended a notorious highwayman to the gallows and got the hardened man to confess to God and reconcile himself to justice a moment before the execution. Most fearful were certain cases of people possessed by evil spirits, and most difficult to reclaim were fallen women.

The young Jesuits began to make themselves omnipresent in the pulpits, plazas, and streets where they catechized the youth and instructed the working classes; but while each of the others was known only as "one of the Company," Father Nóbrega was called "The Stammerer." Their work did not always stop at nightfall. Once he and a companion were ordered out after midnight. They went along the unlighted streets at two o'clock in the morning, violently ringing a bell and arousing the townspeople with the cry: "Hell awaits those in mortal sin!"<sup>10</sup> They were accepted as apostles; such drastic measures were expected of them, since the wayward could not be led by the more gentle sermons on the love of God. The total effect of the numerous preachings on Coimbra was a moral regeneration.

After carrying on their religious revival in Coimbra the Jesuits extended their field in 1546 to outlying towns and provinces. They passed along the highways, to the people as specially prepared men of science, learning, asceticism, and zeal. Itineraries were planned by the superior. Nóbrega and the others went two by two, supporting themselves on food begged from door to door, lodging at night generally in some hospital. The poor, the aged, the infirm, the outcasts of society, the public sinners of each place received visits from them. Within a few years scarcely a village in Portugal had not heard the voices of the black-robed fathers. As an excursionist of this type Nóbrega's sincere, though at times exaggerated zealousness, wrought numerous conversions among clergy and laity.<sup>11</sup>

One of his missions is told in some detail.<sup>12</sup> Following his superior's directions he made a circuit of towns, moving eastward from Coimbra toward the Spanish border, then west and north to the coast, and finally down the coast south through

<sup>9</sup> Rodrigues, I, 1, 655. Edifying incidents of zeal appear in CJ I, 23-30, Franco, *Vida*.

<sup>10</sup> Rodrigues, I, 1, 367.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 1, 639.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 1, 655-656; CJ I, 26-27, Franco, *Vida*.

Pôrto to his residence, a tour of about three hundred miles. By the time he had reached Sabugal, the easternmost city, he was barefoot, for his shoes had worn out. Yet in spite of his bedraggled condition he proceeded directly into a pulpit to deliver a sermon against injustice and public sins. The effect was highly salutary. Many hearers, chastened in spirit, foreswore their evil ways. But when the tired preacher began to beg food and shelter, the noble Dom Duarte de Castelo Branco thought this altogether too much. He offered the missionary hospitality. Nóbrega was grateful, still firm in his refusal of such honor and luxury. The grandee could be equally stubborn. The padre somehow made an escape to the hospice, safe, he thought, from the temptation to comfort. There Dom Duarte's servants trailed him, and there they were when dinnertime came, serving him food on their master's silver service. But Nóbrega successfully resisted many other kind invitations to stay long in that city.

Another characteristic adventure happened at Covilhão on the road back. He arrived bareheaded, since he had lost or someone had stolen his hat, and ill because he had just completed eight miles afoot in a hot, June sun. Gaunt from fast and fatigue, he nevertheless mounted the pulpit immediately. The sermon was what might have been expected under such circumstances. It was not what his new audience expected. His stammering, aggravated by illness, brought murmurs of disapproval. In fact the congregation withdrew. Undiscouraged, Nóbrega asked the pastor to announce a sermon for the following day. The pastor did so, adding that the stammering priest would preach it. Even with this adverse publicity for one reason or another a crowd gathered. This time it remained to be greatly pleased. Won by his eloquence and graciousness the people begged him to remain, and not succeeding they had a citizen's committee write a petition to John III to issue an order constraining Nóbrega to Covilhão for six months' work. The Jesuit, however, moved on to complete his circuit. When he left Opôrto on the last stage of his journey he was on horseback, at least for awhile. About thirty miles from Coimbra his cavalcade came upon a Negress, very sick, who was trying to get to that city. Nóbrega gave her his mount, and, ill as he was, completed the miles on foot.

One pilgrimage made by Nóbrega brought him across the northern boundary of Portugal to Santiago de Compostela in Spain, about two hundred miles due north of Coimbra along the coast road. In this ancient city of Galicia he preached much,

braving humiliations arising from his poor clothes and foreign diction. For instance, a bevy of light-hearted Galician girls after one sermon were gathered in the street around one of the group who was mimicking the talk with all gestures and falterings. Again, one night he was forced to put up with a crowd of professional beggars. He had to listen to a contest between them to settle a wager over whose methods were best suited to bring generous alms. Each presented his plea, until one member of the confraternity, concluding his rather blasphemous whine, turned to Nóbrega for his verdict. The father gave him not only his own judgment but that of heaven and hell, fearlessly branding the roustabouts individually and collectively as thieves and cheats. Thereafter, beggars took another direction when they spied him coming.

In this manner Father Nóbrega for four years tramped the streets and highways of Portugal, using an enormous amount of physical energy, rejoicing in any favor gained for souls through his instrumentality, sorrowing and blaming his own unworthiness for failure to convert the obstinate. The wear and tear on his health was great while he was braving the elements and suffering the inconveniences of hunger, thirst, lodging, and ridicule. All difficulties and hardships suffered by his body only served to strengthen his soul. His soul grew great in its desire to benefit his fellow men. He had become full of the driving force of the young Society of Jesus, to do all things for the greater honor and glory of God. Salvation to him was forgetting himself and remembering only God and his neighbor. He was thus well prepared for a far more arduous task.

## II. THE ORGANIZATION OF NORTH BRAZIL

Toward the end of 1548 while Nóbrega was on one of his tours the king completed arrangements for making something out of the scattered, badly managed settlements, or captaincies, of Brazil. He appointed Thomé de Sousa governor general in full charge of building a capital and bringing the individual colonies under one central headship. The Jesuits were asked to carry out the religious and cultural phase of the unification. Simon Rodrigues, superior of all the Jesuits in Portugal, to the satisfaction of John III and Thomé de Sousa, named Nóbrega superior of a chosen band of six.<sup>13</sup> He then sent word to the itinerant "stam-

<sup>13</sup> Vasconcellos, *Chronica*, I, 18, says that the fame of his great spirit was the reason why he was asked for by His Highness, John III, and the governor.



merer" out in the middle of Portugal to get to Lisbon for the embarkation of the fleet.

Whether he was too ill to make haste or too busy with final arrangements, the superior missed the sailing. His men, Fathers Leonardo Nunes, António Pires, and João de Azpilcueta Navarro, and the as yet unordained brothers Vicente Rodrigues and Diogo Jácome were aboard when anchors were weighed. The last hope as the billowing sails moved out the *Ria* toward the sea was the skiff of the port superintendent. In this Nóbrega overtook the *Conceição*, flagship of the fleet, and was welcomed, as he came over the railing, by the governor general. The day was February 1, 1549. Manuel never again saw Portugal.

The fleet was the largest ever to go to Brazil to that time—three ships, two caravels, a brigantine, and two other boats. All told there were over a thousand men, including functionaries, soldiers, colonists, and four hundred *degradados*; the latter, a group of exiles made up of various human derelicts and offenders not wanted in Portugal, who might, it was thought, make a new start in America. The voyage was completed without incident, no storms, no seasickness; in fact, the Jesuits were in better health after their trip.<sup>14</sup> They followed a strict religious order each day, and by sermons and talks ultimately got everyone to go to confession. In exactly eight weeks, on March 29, they reached the Bay of All Saints.<sup>15</sup>

The disembarkation from the armada was made with both display and caution. The soldiers landed in battle array fully prepared to meet any resistance. The fathers followed chanting a hymn, one (Nóbrega?) holding aloft a crucifix. "But," said Nóbrega, "we found the land at peace and forty or fifty dwellers in the settlement already there. They received us with joy. We found a sort of church, close to which we soon lodged the fathers and brothers in some houses [made] like it."<sup>16</sup> These were thatched mud huts made by the fathers. Nóbrega said the first Mass on the following Sunday, March 31, and preached where the new city of Salvador was to rise, while Father Navarro preached half a league away to the people of the old city settled by Francisco Pereira Coutinho.

Before the novelty of being in the New World was fully realized a healthy building program was in progress. The problems

<sup>14</sup> Leite, *História*, I, 19.

<sup>15</sup> CJ I, 71, Nóbrega to Simon Rodrigues, from Bahia, 1549.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*

of water supply, sanitation, defense, and materials cropped up. The site for the new city, called Salvador, Thomé's colonial capital, was chosen and marked off during the first month. When the leaders, including the padre, were agreed on the sites for particular walls and buildings they set men to work laying foundations according to drafted plans. The diggers, lumbermen, carpenters, masons erected structures and fortifications capable of withstanding raids from the backwoods and from the sea. The Jesuit superior had his trouble building the first church and planning a college in which the religious and two hundred students might be housed. Workmen were expensive; so was material and labor. The king's subsidy amounting to thirteen cents a day for each Jesuit would build no buildings.<sup>17</sup> Father Pires, an expert carpenter, after some months got tools from Portugal for work on the Jesuit residence. By August 10 the new city had one hundred houses, and fields were sown.<sup>18</sup>

The difficulties of constructing the city were minor compared to those encountered in constructing a new social, moral, and intellectual order. Nóbrega was a realist. He soon saw what confronted him in the way of a spiritual task. Rather than being discouraged after one horrified look at the prospect, he took the moral measure of all of the people and then launched a two-fisted, twenty-year campaign against the evils of the land.

The Indians were in general one rung above the brute stage on the ladder of civilization.<sup>19</sup> First of all they had the bad habit of eating one another. Living in groups in the jungle or along rivers they preyed upon their neighbors like animals, carrying off males and females to be bartered into slavery or fattened for a feast. The constant tribal warfare was motivated by hate and vengeance rather than by desire for power; the satisfaction of these passions was complete at one of the cannibalistic orgies only when all were glutted and intoxicated. They remained in one place for a short period, moving elsewhere when their mud hovels fell apart or became too filled with filth for free movement. They frequently killed children to get them out of the way. They knew nothing of God, of moral laws, of monogamy; led by medicine men they feared the devil and worshiped various idols; they grubbed, hunted, fished, and warred for food; they did nothing

<sup>17</sup> On this subsidy cf. Jacobsen, "Jesuit Founders," *loc. cit.*, 23.

<sup>18</sup> CJ I, 89, Nóbrega to Dr. Navarro, August 10, 1549.

<sup>19</sup> Almost every letter of the Jesuits could be cited in proof of this and the following statements; examples may be found especially in CJ I, 72, 75, 79, 90, 100, 116; CJ II, 50, 70, 98, 99, etc.

about clothing. Were it not for the few more civilized natives around Bahia, Nóbrega might well have despaired of elevating the Indians of Brazil.

Equally bad were the conditions among the whites and half-breeds. "The people of the land live in mortal sin," Nóbrega wrote.<sup>20</sup> This was a blanket charge covering all classes who knew right from wrong. The *donatarios*, the planters, poor whites, and riff-raff were all living with many wives, "Negresses" as the native slave women were termed. They had children by them and by the free women. None went to confession. The half-breed children, *mamelucos*, were neither known nor a responsibility to parents as they grew up. Many went into the *sertão* living naked and as promiscuously as the Indians. Since the procedure had been going on nearly twenty years, nobody could tell whether brothers were cohabiting with sisters, fathers with daughters, mothers with sons.

Most of the clergymen were as evil as anybody else. There were several unnamed priests at Bahia, several at Pernambuco, and a handful down south at São Vicente. How and why they got to Brazil cannot be stated. They had become victims of their surroundings, attached to an estate and dependent upon the owner for support. They could do nothing but condone slavery and concubinage, or even apostatize, as at Pernambuco.<sup>21</sup> They had neither bishop nor vicar to check their idleness and waywardness. The remedy for this was promptly suggested by Nóbrega. In letters to the king he begged that a bishop be sent.<sup>22</sup>

Definitely, the ax had to be laid to the roots of paganism. To correct the widespread social evils Nóbrega planned an aggressive, detailed campaign, consulting frequently with the governor and officials regarding procedures. Father Leonardo Nunes and Brother Jácome were sent south to Ilhéus to care for the people there. He and the others set themselves to learning the native tongue. With customary enthusiasm he worked on a translation of prayers and sermons into the native language but apparently ran into insurmountable obstacles. The natives not only could not read but they were "so brutish that they have no vocables" to express ideas. The Jesuit leader determined to have the fathers live in the villages, there to acquaint themselves with native habits and means of communicating ideas. The chieftains

<sup>20</sup> CJ I, 72, Nóbrega to Simon Rodrigues.

<sup>21</sup> CJ I, 116, 119, Nóbrega to the Fathers and Brothers, August 11, 1551.

<sup>22</sup> CJ I, 83, Nóbrega to Simon Rodrigues, August 9, 1551; CJ I, 127, Nóbrega to John III, September 14, 1551.

of two main villages, falling in line with the plan of Christianization, made houses for Navarro, who lived alternately in each and visited other places near Bahia.<sup>23</sup>

Attention was centered upon small boys and girls with happy results. Brother Rodrigues caught their fancy and soon had a small school of reading and writing. One of the chieftains accepting the challenge to learning mastered the A B C's in two days. Another, already baptized, made up for his lack of such promising scholarship by his truly Christian fervor and friendship; he paternally cuffed his village into order. The children went with Nóbrega through the streets in solemn processions, drawing the people by their chants. The Indians assembled to hear the father inveigh against war, homicide, polygamy, idolatry, and the crime of "eating one another." In time, one after another of the "thou shalt nots" came to be known and respected in the old and new city of Bahia. Within five months about one hundred had been baptized, and "600 or 700 were catechumens," according to Nóbrega (who had the peculiar habit exhibited here of speaking in round terms such as "ten or twelve," "forty or fifty").<sup>24</sup> Still, instructing the children brought up the further problem of keeping them secure in the faith amid adverse conditions, for any convert was in constant danger of death.<sup>25</sup>

Efforts to organize the adults into respectable communities called for the greatest amount of patience. Coaxing them to build homes and villages more permanently, leading them to clear and till a specific area, to make a home for one man, one wife and family, instructing them to be responsible for infants and children, became the slow, painstaking task of Nóbrega and his men. They taught the peoples of the poverty-stricken land what to eat and how to grow food. Nóbrega soon asked for clothing for the women to wear, at least when they came to church. Caring for the sick, baptizing dying infants, visiting the slaves on the estates were in the day's work.

Part of the daily toil consisted of steps taken to discredit the superstitions of the medicine men, the *feiticeiros*,<sup>26</sup> who were the backbone of the opposition to Christianity. These went about bestirring all with the doctrine of hatred of fellow men, calling Indians to their ancient idolatry, devil worship, wars, and pagan

<sup>23</sup> CJ I, 93, Nóbrega to Dr. Navarro, August 10, 1549.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, 92.

<sup>25</sup> CJ II, 49, João Navarro to Fathers and Brothers, March 28, 1550.

<sup>26</sup> On these cf. Vasconcellos, *Chronica*, Introduction, cci, and CJ I, 99, *Informação das Terras do Brasil*.

rituals. Through such firebrands the backwoods tribes were aroused to fury against the padres' condemnations of the vice of cannibalism. When they led raids on the new settlement the strong military arm of the governor was bared. Laws were promulgated. By legislation, punitive campaigns, and paternal instruction the idea of justice was brought home to the people. Abused Indians found a court of appeal, bad Indians felt the force of the law, that is, if they did not scamper into the jungles.

The *feiticeiros* were accustomed to come as angels of light to the villages, where they were welcomed with a great fanfare of songs and dancing. They promised to heal any sickness, especially that contracted from the "poisoned water" poured during the Christian baptisms. Nóbrega, who considered them the devil's emissaries, sought ever to counteract their work. On one occasion he came upon one in the market place haranging a throng.<sup>27</sup> Nóbrega strode through the Indians and asked him if he received his power to heal from God in heaven, or on earth, or from the devil in hell. The conjurer's astounding reply was that he had this power himself since he was the son of God, and the others mentioned his relatives; he was even in communication with deities that Nóbrega had never heard of, in the clouds and storms. The padre immediately emitted a wild cry against the blasphemy; he summoned the whole village to the scene; he called upon the people to witness his denunciation. Without any arguments he literally shouted and gesticulated the fellow into confusion. As a result, the *feiticeiro* admitted his falsehoods, begged God's pardon, and asked to become a Christian with some of his followers. Once such religious leaders were discredited or were brought into the fold the fathers became in the eyes of the indigines the great religious guides. Instances of this type later were multiplied all over Brazil.

The recently arrived whites were controlled fairly well by the officials, though the problem of wives for them soon arose. These men together with the earlier settlers received personal exhortations and counsel from the fathers, who attempted to make all conscious of the degrading effects of their wrongdoings, stressing the injustice of enslaving natives and the duty of caring for the Negro slaves. Nóbrega talked to the Negroes, some of whom received instructions and became Christians. The obdurate planters, however, argued that they could not maintain their plantations without native slaves. Prominent among the methods of

<sup>27</sup> CJ I, 35, Franco, *Vida*, or, in Nóbrega's words, CJ I, 95.

converting the obdurate was the one of awakening the village at midnight with bell ringing and the chanting of hymns.

From March to November 1549 definite progress had been made in the new city of Salvador. On November 1, Father Nóbrega set out by boat for Ilhéus, the central village of the captaincy of the same name, situated some one hundred forty miles south. Father Leonardo Nunes had returned from there with the report of good possibilities for the Jesuits. Nóbrega went to consider the prospects. The two sailed out with "ten or twelve" small boys. These Nóbrega had found in bondage at Bahia. He was amazed when they claimed to be Christians. They or their parents had been brought from the distant south after being captured by slave raiders. The father took their case to Thomé de Sousa, who found their cause just. He ordered them to be returned to their land, where, they said, the fathers would be welcomed. They were the amiable and tractable Carijós Indians who lured the Jesuits to a promising field.

The padres stayed in Ilhéus long enough to survey affairs and to care for Brother Jácome who was very ill with fever. Then they sailed another one hundred ten miles to Porto Seguro, where they arrived on Christmas Day.<sup>28</sup> Father Nunes was sent south with the boys. The superior went directly from the boat to preaching and the confessional. In each of the towns he found the natives tamer and friendlier than those around Bahia. "About twenty or thirty" had been baptized earlier by two priests, who met death at the hands of tribesmen in the vicinity. The lives of some of the sugar planters, the *fazendeiros*, were as scandalous as those in the north. The appalling ignorance, poverty, and lack of religion witnessed on his trips to the villages made Nóbrega's heart yearn for more workers to plant the good seed. He could not absolve men already married in Portugal, mostly poor whites, because they had taken Indian wives. Not knowing of pollen and sinusitis, he blamed the humidity for aggravating his catarrh. Other items of note were reports of gold and precious stones as yet undiscovered, and a herb for smoking, called the "Holy Herb," which aided digestion, but which the fathers did not use.

Throughout the year 1550 Nóbrega exercised his zeal in Porto Seguro before returning to Salvador in 1551.<sup>29</sup> During his ab-

<sup>28</sup> CJ I, 107. Nóbrega to Simon Rodrigues, January 6, 1550; Leite, *História*, I, 197. The letter of Nóbrega, running ten printed pages, covers the stop at Ilhéus, and first days at Porto Seguro.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*

sence from the capital a new armada, which left Lisbon January 7, 1550, had arrived presumably in March bringing four more fathers and word from Ignatius Loyola that Nóbrega was to act as vice-provincial.<sup>30</sup> These the superior distributed in Bahia, Ilhéus, and Porto Seguro. Father Navarro, a master of the native language, had completed his translation of a prayerbook and catechism, and, on the return of Nóbrega, was sent to do a similar work for the Indians in Porto Seguro, a task needing several months. This great missionary was assigned solely to work among the natives. Quite as a welcome surprise there came on this fleet with the fathers seven orphan boys, reformed "rascals" from Lisbon, who were to aid as catechists.

The dire economic needs were a constant problem to the Jesuit leader. Simply stated these consisted of supporting ten Jesuits, the seven orphans, two Indian seminaries, and constructing houses, a church, and a college on the total sum of one dollar and thirty cents a day. Legalities and religious regulations complicated the situation.<sup>31</sup>

From Porto Seguro Nóbrega had written to his Portuguese provincial for a clarification of his authority. What permission had he to build, to accept funds, to acquire lands and properties including slaves, to establish a college? Since these orphans were sent he assumed that he had somehow to provide them with shelter, food, clothes, and education. But his religious vows and the Jesuit regulations against individual or corporate ownership were in conflict with practical needs. He presented his reasoning as follows: living quarters were necessary, and therefore must be obtained; food could not be begged from people so poor as those in the colony, therefore a farm and herd of cattle were essential; but the farm could not be worked by fathers already building houses and doing missionary work, and hence labor had to be obtained; the hire of native or white labor for farming and herd-tending was expensive, and there was no money at hand; slaves, the alternative, were also expensive.

Thomé de Sousa was approached with a statement of the facts.<sup>32</sup> During the year and a half that had elapsed since their arrival, the missionaries had received, besides the plot of ground in the city and the king's subsidy, twelve cubits of dark cloth,

<sup>30</sup> CJ I, 36, *Franco, Vida*.

<sup>31</sup> CJ I, 128-130, Nóbrega to Simon Rodrigues, August (?), 1552; this letter should be compared to one written by Nóbrega to Rodrigues, July 10, 1552, published in NCJ, 23-27.

<sup>32</sup> CJ I, 129, Nóbrega to the Portuguese Provincial, 1552.

twelve pairs of shoes, two sombreros, and fourteen yards of cloth for shirts, the whole valued at 7,080 réis, or \$54. The other needs were mentioned, the most urgent of which pertained to Nóbrega's adopted poor boys. Thomé cooperated with alacrity. The two leaders formed the *Colégio dos Meninos de Jesus*, that is, "incorporated" the boys as a unit, housed them in a hall, and formulated regulations for the "college." A farm site was allotted for its support. Nóbrega acquired three slaves from among those sent by the crown from Guinea, promising payment to the crown in two years. Some cows were purchased on similar terms. Within a year the cotton fields, gardens, and farm were in operation, though one of their slaves died of fever. These acquisitions later gave rise to religious scruples on the part of some of the fathers and brought about a stout defense from Nóbrega.<sup>33</sup>

This college of orphans began to flourish. The boys were very useful for instructing natives. They received education, starting Latin in 1553, and the brighter ones were sent back to Portugal for higher studies. The king granted 5,600 réis a year for clothing. As a youth movement this Bahia foundation was important. When these and others of the type later sent grew up we find Nóbrega still watching over their welfare, even to the extent of asking that orphan girls be sent who might become wives for those who did not have a religious vocation, and with the boys build new homes in the colony.

Meantime, the children of the land were not neglected. In the two nearby villages, Navarro had organized the Indian and mestizo lads into two seminaries, housing the groups in adobe huts built by the fathers. These were taught reading, writing, grammar, composition, and singing. Navarro could easily have two hundred in each place if they could be fed and lodged. Children's processions became common sights in places only shortly removed from barbarism. Many boys came to the door in tears begging admission to the select groups.<sup>34</sup>

Providing for the little ones in these several groups did not cause Nóbrega to neglect his work of establishing a center for the Jesuits. Quarters in the old city served while the foundations for the main Jesuit building were laid in the new. By the middle of 1551 a quadrangle of houses was laid out for the college, whose rector was head carpenter. The residences, prototypes of

<sup>33</sup> NCJ, 102-112, Nóbrega to Lainez, June 12, 1561.

<sup>34</sup> CJ I, 115, Nóbrega to Fathers and Brothers; also, *ibid.*, 129; Vasconcellos, I, 55-56.

many others since constructed by the Jesuits, were in constant need of repair until 1557 when it was decided to make them of stone. The king contributed 17,000 réis, about \$112, for labor, and moreover assigned a stonemason to the task, who performed it as part of a prison sentence received for murder.<sup>35</sup>

Bent upon "taking the pulse" of Brazil, amounting to "two-thirds of the world," he said, the Black Robe with Father Antônio Pires boarded a boat in early July 1551, bound for Pernambuco or Recife, five hundred miles north by sea.<sup>36</sup> The governor had been asked by the king if the Jesuits were in all places as yet, and Nóbrega was desirous of getting his men established. Although Nóbrega mentions nothing about the journey, Pires says they almost lost their lives during storms lasting six days of the "15 or 20 days" trip.<sup>37</sup> They brought with them some Christian boys, who soon were a source of edification to all as they went through the streets chanting.

The state of moral laxity in this settlement of Dom João Coelho called for much labor on the part of the priests. They were received well, especially by the virtuous, aged Coelho, who gave them a home built previously for Augustinian fathers who did not arrive. Nóbrega followed his customary preaching and penances, constantly urging men to their duties. Some of the whites had not been near the sacraments for twenty years, and one of the fallen priests was restored to grace by the fervent words of Nóbrega. There was so much to be done, however, to correct the widespread enslavement of natives and injustices to Negroes that the vice-provincial did not leave for Bahia until January of 1552. Pires remained in Pernambuco. Nóbrega said that Divine Justice surely would have destroyed the evil place were it not for the goodness of Coelho and his wife.<sup>38</sup>

<sup>35</sup> Leite, *História*, I, 48-49; facsimile of the ground plan faces page 32. In 1557 the main building was a 57 by 25 foot "hall" which was divided into a study, a dormitory for the Jesuits, and a sacristy. Next to this were houses, one serving as a church, one for a kitchen, common refectory, and dispensary, and another for the boys' quarters and classrooms. These structures were put in rectangular form, practically on the sea; around the Jesuit square grew the city of Salvador. When these mud, or adobe, houses decayed sometime in the sixties the new and beautiful stone building and adjacent church were erected. Nóbrega did not survive to see the full flowering and the fruits of this famous educational and missionary center, which with so much toil he and his pioneers had founded.

<sup>36</sup> CJ I, 114-117, Nóbrega to the Fathers and Brothers, from Pernambuco, 1551; *ibid.*, 118-122; *id.* to *id.*; *ibid.*, 123-127, Nóbrega to John III, September 14, 1551.

<sup>37</sup> CJ II, 82, Antônio Pires to the Brothers of the Company, August 2, 1551. The letter runs nine printed pages, 75-84.

<sup>38</sup> CJ I, 124, Nóbrega to John III.

The first bishop of Brazil, Dom Pedro Fernandes Sardinha, arrived in Bahia on June 22, 1552.<sup>39</sup> With him came some priests, canons, and dignitaries. The spiritual outlook was much brighter as the prelate undertook reforms. Still, one of the first uses to which he put the Jesuits was not precisely to Nóbrega's liking, though prompted by episcopal zeal. They were appointed apostolic visitors in the captaincies, bound to "inquire into but not to judge" the conduct of the secular priests.<sup>40</sup> Nóbrega had no taste for anything savoring of espionage. Otherwise, the incoming clergymen were able to care for the whites around Bahia, thus freeing Jesuits for more work among the Indians, and the presence of a bishop lent an air of authority and majesty to the colony. For this the father was grateful. Nóbrega argued with the prelate when he forbade the Jesuits to hear confessions through interpreters, to send boys' processions through villages, and to have Mass for slaves. In a month the resultant confusion was straightened out, principally by the authority of Dr. Navarro to whom Nóbrega had appealed for decision.<sup>41</sup>

In these letters of 1552 the vice-provincial wrote reports to Simon Rodrigues and to the king.<sup>42</sup> He promised to send two boys, "the first born of the land," to Portugal for their higher studies. He gave an account of the progress and hopes, mentioning casually how the church was falling about their heads but they were making another of clay and straw which would last the next three years. His letter to the king had a frankness truly remarkable, if one believes the monarch to have been absolute and autocratic. In effect, he said: the bishop is a blessing; this land lacks good women for the menfolk, so send some and many orphan girls to check concubinage and foster Christian family life; this land is too poor to support the high salaried carpenters sent by the court and consequently they want to get away; it is also too poor to pay the mounting costs of the episcopal and government officials; now that the term of Thomé de Sousa is closing his highness might do well to seek another like him to continue the great work he has accomplished; all things spiritual

<sup>39</sup> CJ I, 128, Nóbrega to the Provincial of Portugal, 1552.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, 129.

<sup>41</sup> NCJ, 29-33, Nóbrega to Simon Rodrigues, July 1552. The bishop soon realized that he had to depend solely upon the Jesuits; his early judgments were erroneous, though inspired by high ideas of a sudden reform of the different classes of people; unfortunately, he did not like the land and was soon discouraged. For an account of him, see Leite, *História*, II, 515-522.

<sup>42</sup> Cf. note 36.

and temporal are progressing; the converted Indians are set apart in *aldeias*. The last highly significant remark indicates the prelude to the *reduction* system of the Jesuits.<sup>43</sup>

### III. BUILDING IN THE SOUTH

The time came for Thomé de Sousa's inspection tour of the coastal cities.<sup>44</sup> With him sailed Nóbrega, Francisco Pires, and four orphan boys, at the end of 1552. The first stop on the 1,000 mile voyage was at Ilhéus. At Porto Seguro they met Navarro. They found Father Braz and a brother making good progress at Espírito Santo. The seminary for Indian boys with its grammar school was flourishing, while natives, slaves, and whites were under instruction. Proceeding to the bay of Rio de Jainero they did not land because the tribes were warring. Near the captaincy of São Vicente a big storm struck the ships, but all came safely to the island village of São Vicente in the Bay of Santos. There the fathers were warmly welcomed in January 1553 at the Jesuit house by Leonardo Nunes and eighty boys and Jesuits living there.<sup>45</sup>

Nunes had made remarkable progress in the vice-ridden land of João Ramalho, the wealthy renegade, whose many *mameluco* sons lived wild and naked with the free Indians. The father had fourteen youths in training as Jesuit novices.<sup>46</sup> In his school reading, writing, singing, the flute, and some Latin were taught.<sup>47</sup> He had built the best church on the coast and had a large house. Nearby, the "father of São Paulo metallurgy," Brother Noguiera, operated a shop in which boys were trained to be smiths, carpenters, and weavers, while in the gardens and orchards others learned agriculture and horticulture. The two fathers were maintained by the king's small subsidy; alms were begged for the others; two benefactors gave some farms. In view of the development Nóbrega officially made this group of buildings the Colégio de Meninos on February 2, 1553, preaching a special sermon on the occasion. Thus the coastal center was well established for its purposes.<sup>48</sup>

There was, however, a great desire on the part of the fathers

<sup>43</sup> CJ I, 135.

<sup>44</sup> Leite, *História*, has suitable facsimile maps of the various ports visited; his chapters recount the history of each place for the sixteenth century.

<sup>45</sup> Nóbrega wrote three letters under dates of February 12, June 15, and August 31, 1553, describing the southern situation; these are in NCJ, 34-52.

<sup>46</sup> CJ II, 98, Pero Correia to the Brothers in Africa, 1551.

<sup>47</sup> NCJ, 45, Nóbrega to Father Câmara, June 15, 1553.

<sup>48</sup> NCJ, 51-52, *id. to id.*, August 31, 1553; cf. Leite, *História*, I, 271-277.

to missionize the *sertão*, the backwoods, beyond the estates immediately surrounding the bay. The nearby area was a moral eyesore, due chiefly to the ancient Ramalho who lived three leagues inland. From over the mountains came invitations to the fertile plains and valleys where natives were neither fickle nor cannibalistic. This *sertão*, even to the villages of the gentle Guarani, was to *mamelucos* ideal for vicious slave raids, but to the fathers "a mine of souls." Nóbrega soon paid a visit to the nearer tribes.<sup>49</sup>

In view of the reports he determined in June 1553 to establish a great city for Indians one hundred leagues west,<sup>50</sup> and another in the plain twelve leagues from São Vicente.<sup>51</sup> The former plan was fulfilled in the Paraguay Reductions, the latter in the great city of São Paulo. The birth date of São Paulo de Piratininga falls in the very last week of August 1553.<sup>52</sup> Then, on this site Nóbrega brought together converts and neophytes from three villages for better instruction. Here, isolated from contacts with whites, they could establish their own economy, enjoy village life, and be tutored in grammar, crafts, agriculture, and grazing. Father Manuel de Paiva was placed in charge with some brothers. Father Nunes was sent by boat to Bahia to conduct south some missionaries who had arrived there on July 13. He returned to São Vicente on December 24 with two fathers and two brothers, one of whom was José de Anchieta, as yet not ordained nor famed. Moreover, he brought word of the departure of Thomé de Sousa and of the arrival of the new governor, Duarte da Costa. And to the joy of all except the superior he handed over letters patent from Ignatius Loyola designating Nóbrega provincial of Brazil.<sup>53</sup> In this capacity Nóbrega held the official opening ceremonies of the Colégio de São Paulo

<sup>49</sup> NCJ, 137, Leonard Nunes to Nóbrega, June 29, 1552.

<sup>50</sup> NCJ, 41.

<sup>51</sup> NCJ, 44.

<sup>52</sup> NCJ, 52; cf. Leite, *História*, I, 277.

<sup>53</sup> *Monumenta Historica Societatis Jesu, Monumenta Ignatiana*, Series I, Vol. V, 181-182. Ignatius wrote: "We, therefore, since we have much confidence in your piety and prudence, which is in Christ, command you in virtue of holy obedience to take the office." This was on July 9, 1553. On June 15, 1553, Ignatius ordered the profession of Fathers Nóbrega and Luys de Grana (Luiz da Grã), *ibid.*, 128. Grã, about whom an article follows in after pages, named associate (*Socius*) or assistant to Nóbrega, remained in Bahia after his arrival in July 1553. In another letter dated August 13, 1553, the Jesuit general ordered Nóbrega to give more distinct and exact statements regarding temporal things, since the information from Brazil was imperfect, and to put in such details as where each house was, how many were in it, etc., *ibid.*, 329-330. Grã wrote such a letter at the end of 1553, NCJ, 160 ff.

de Piratininga on January 25, 1554. How the city of São Paulo grew around this institution whose first houses were built by Jesuit hands, has been frequently told.

Elevation to the provincialate did not change much the nature of Nóbrega's worries. Apparently, all legalities were satisfied only by May 1555, when he pronounced the vows of the professed.<sup>54</sup> One special concern was getting men; another was keeping them in the field. Thomé de Sousa on his arrival before King John III, giving high praise to the work done under Nóbrega's leadership, urged that more men be sent. He carried his plea to the Jesuits of Lisbon and Coimbra, cajoling and prodding them to go to Brazil.<sup>55</sup> Nóbrega, after repeatedly begging help, sent Father Nunes to Portugal to procure it, but on the way the ship was wrecked, June 30, 1554; survivors saw the valiant missionary go down, cross in hand, exhorting all to constancy in the faith. He was the fifth of the Jesuits to die, for a father and brother were overtaken suddenly by death at Bahia in 1553, and on June 8, 1554, two brothers were slain by Carijós. By 1554 seventeen Jesuits had come from Portugal and twelve had been received in Brazil. Nóbrega obtained no more from Portugal to the end of his provincialate in 1559, when seven arrived (of whom two survived), but during this time he admitted nineteen more in Brazil.<sup>56</sup>

From January 1554 until May 3, 1556, Nóbrega lived at the Colégio de Meninos of São Vicente and the Colégio de São Paulo, though he made trips to villages of the *sertão*. He had many administrative duties: giving instructions in moral theology, settling cases of conscience, settling points of canon law, obtaining faculties even from Rome for absolution and tangled marriage problems, writing to Portugal and to Ignatius for interpretations of the Jesuit constitutions and for instructions as to procedures, distributing his men. With the new governor at Bahia he had practically no communication owing to the infrequency of boats between north and south Brazil. He was aware that a quarrel had arisen between the governor's son and the bishop, which was instrumental in causing the bishop to resign.

Practically, Nóbrega did much to consolidate his province and the people. Jesuits were sent to study at Piratininga, where from 1554 secondary education was in progress. This led to the

<sup>54</sup> CJ I, 147, Nóbrega to Father Ignacio de Azevedo, 1556.

<sup>55</sup> CJ II, Introduction, 19.

<sup>56</sup> Names and data are in Leite, *História*, I, 560-561, 573-575.

official establishment of the college there in 1556. At São Vicente the "college" for boys flourished. To tie the natives of the *sertão* down into organized social units, five *aldeias*, villages of reduced Indians, were established at Manicoba, Mairahaia, Geribatiba, Ibirapuera, and Santo Amaro, each with its church and primary school.<sup>57</sup> The provincial's leadership in this concerted drive to form and elevate Indian society was notable, but requires a book to fill in the details. He had of necessity to make trips into the backwoods. On one such he went by canoe and on foot some one hundred twenty miles, passing through villages with four lads who attracted the people by chanting litanies. In one place they came upon tribesmen in the act of butchering a number of slaves. Nóbrega wished to baptize the unfortunates, but the crazed cannibals refused him. Nevertheless, he secretly and with great danger to his life performed the rite by squeezing holy water from his handkerchief.<sup>58</sup> In this year of 1554 the fathers brought a local war to a halt and nipped a budding revolt in the interior.<sup>59</sup>

The village of Manicoba was significant. Ninety miles from São Vicente it was established by Nóbrega as a step toward Paraguay where he yearned to go.<sup>60</sup> The peoples of this land originally lured him south, and now that his centers were established, his eyes ever turned westward. Paraguay, however, was the land of the Spanish Emperor, and King John III early gave orders to Thomé that no Portuguese were to go beyond the Line of Demarcation into Spanish-owned lands.<sup>61</sup> Because of his great desire to be off to the west, Nóbrega hoped soon to be relieved of the provincial's duties. Probably illness would have prevented his going, for he says he was very near death from an infirmity which no one escaped in this land—a tumor or swelling of the stomach.<sup>62</sup> At least, from his writings, Portugal, Spain, and Rome knew there was a promising missionary field in Paraguay thirty years before the *reductions* were begun.

#### IV. THE PROVINCIAL RETURNS NORTH

The provincial, though not fully recovered from his illness, had reasons for going north to Bahia. He had to make a visitation of all houses in his province. During this his duty was to explain and promulgate the final constitutions of the Society which had

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 302 ff.

<sup>58</sup> CJ II, 137-138, Letter of Brother Correa, 1554.

<sup>59</sup> Leite, *História*, I, 286.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 335.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 340-341.

<sup>62</sup> CJ I, 149, Nóbrega to Azevedo, 1556.

recently arrived. Then, he had heard that the brother of the governor had subdued new tribes, who were now ready for instruction. Further, he expected a successor to come with the next governor. Whereupon, leaving all things in order and Father Grā in charge of the south, he started up the coast on May 3, 1556.<sup>63</sup>

The journey was one of torment and tempest. For fifteen days after May 7 the boat carrying two fathers and four brothers made no progress, first because a violent storm tossed the ship around in one place, and next because of a great calm which came when one of the Jesuits dropped an *Agnus Dei* into the waves. Fifteen days were spent in *Espírito Santo*, where Nóbrega preached through interpreters. A stop was made ten leagues north of this, then at *Porto Seguro*. At *Santo Amaro* six days were spent organizing and establishing a class of one hundred persons. The provincial arrived at *Bahia* July 30, where he was received with open arms by fathers and citizens.<sup>64</sup>

For the next three and one-half years the Father Provincial directed his men from headquarters at *Bahia*. Heartaches and physical pain were constantly with him, but he bore his sufferings with an unswerving greatness of soul. The bishop in whom he had placed such hopes and whom he banked upon for the ordinations of young Jesuits had departed for *Portugal* June 16, 1556, a discouraged man. Dreadful news of him soon arrived to sadden the city. Seventy leagues up the coast, at the very beginning of the 3,500 miles voyage to *Lisbon*, the boats were wrecked. Of the survivors all but ten were slain and eaten by the Indians. Nóbrega wrote to his old friend *Thomé de Sousa*:

Our Lord has taken Bishop Dom Pedro Fernandes, who was virtuous in his way, as Your Honor is aware, and very zealous for the reformation of the morals of the Christians, but who showed little concern for the heathens and their salvation, since he did not deem himself their bishop and they seemed to him incapable of all doctrine because of their brutality and beastiality, nor did he have them as sheep in his fold, nor did he consider that Christ, Our Lord, would be honored in having them as such. Yet in this help me, Your Honor, to praise Our Lord in His providence, which permitted that the bishop, fleeing the heathens and the land with little desire to die at their hands, was eaten by them, while to me, who have ever desired and

<sup>63</sup> CJ I, 150-155, Nóbrega to Padre Ignacio de Loyola, 1556.

<sup>64</sup> CJ II, 152-155, Brother Blásquez to S. Roque, August 4, 1556.

petitioned Our Lord for such an end and who have put myself in the occasion of it more than he, it has been denied.<sup>65</sup>

The death of the prelate left Brazil to the care of the ecclesiastical *visitador*, Dr. Francisco Fernandes.

The first Jesuit General, Ignatius Loyola, died on July 31, though word of this did not reach Brazil until the middle of the next year. No appointment of a successor had come and hence a second term of office was Nóbrega's disappointment. Failure to obtain more men from Portugal made him anxious about the spread of the work. Chronic illness badgered him, yet he carried on his ministries except when it became acute. His own feelings and needs were completely submerged in his desire to save the souls of the natives. A remarkable letter of his to the Jesuits in São Vicente reveals the all-embracing Christian charity behind his every action. Another quality of Nóbrega's, his trust in Providence to supply the next day's support and shelter, was in constant exercise.

The formation of smaller *aldeias* to remove the Christian Indians from the scandal of bad-living whites and cannibal savages went on slowly. In the outskirts of the city a church and residence were built on the Rio Vermelho.<sup>66</sup> Father Navarro had charge of Indians here and also of two new *aldeias* soon attached to it. Similar churches and centers were later set up, one named São Paulo, a league from the city, another, São João at three leagues, and another seven leagues away. These were quite flourishing. Babes were baptized, boys and girls were in the schools in numbers ranging from forty to two hundred, others were waiting to begin, while the older Christians were being strengthened each day by instructions in all ways of civilized life.

The governor had granted Nóbrega permission for *aldeias* but gave neither protection from assault nor financial aid. The worst fears of savage raids were realized on January 5, 1557, when Tubarão, one of Navarro's villages, was attacked.<sup>67</sup> The marauders slew many women, but Navarro's Christians captured some of the raiders. These were dragged before the governor for trial. The captors asked the death penalty and were elated when

<sup>65</sup> CJ I, 193, Nóbrega to Sousa, 1559; the letter was composed at different times and occupies many pages—191-218. Cf. also Francisco Adolfo de Varnhagen, *História Geral do Brasil*, 3rd ed., São Paulo, n. d., I, 348-349, 367; Leite, *História*, II, 515-522.

<sup>66</sup> CJ I, 177-190, Nóbrega to Fathers in Portugal, July 5, 1559. From the length of this and other letters it is clear how plentiful the documentation is on *aldeias*.

<sup>67</sup> CJ I, 156-157, *Quadrimestre of January to April 1557*.

Duarte granted it. Navarro hastened to him in dismay. Did he not know that the Indians would eat the slain captives? The appeal arrived too late. The governor, feeling like a Pilate, then spoke to the Indians of Tubarão; they would not be allowed into the church, nor would the padre return to them until they had done penance for their lapse into cannibalism. Obediently they atoned. Don Alvaro again led forces against the hinterland savages for months, until they too capitulated. The crime of these Christian Indians of an *aldeia* was heartbreaking to Nóbrega, especially when he reflected how quickly they had lapsed. It made him more determined to train the youngsters soundly in Christian manners. But on April 30, 1557, his small band received a stiff blow. Father João de Azpilcueta Navarro, beloved by the Jesuits, father and brother to the Indians, and the first linguist of Brazil, died of a heart ailment complicated by fever.<sup>68</sup> Eleven days later King John III died.

The third governor general, Mem de Sá, arrived at Bahia on December 28, 1557. When the accomplishments of this official during his long term of office are completely studied he may well take rank with the great governors of colonial America. Brazil might conceivably have become a very bad investment had it not been for his forceful rule.

With him Nóbrega held conferences at the beginning of 1558. He told Mem de Sá the problems without bandying words, and the governor was willing to listen to one who knew Brazil in detail.<sup>69</sup> It seemed to the crown more important, said Nóbrega, to spend money on forts, officials, and soldiers. These would never elevate the people nor hold the back country; they would bring neither security nor progressiveness to the scattered settlements. He suggested the establishment of large *aldeias*, care of the youth, education in these, the subjugation of the *sertão* groups by arms if necessary but better by the transfer of Christian Indians as colonists to the most populous regions. The amalgamation of smaller villages into these larger units would fore-stall raiders and by bringing together Indians of different sections do away with their hate for one another, which led to wars. Why the fathers had not done this before was explained frankly.

<sup>68</sup> CJ II, 54, note, and 164-167, for his life and virtues.

<sup>69</sup> NCJ, 75-87, Notes on affairs of Brazil, Nóbrega; for full amplification cf. *Documentos relativos a Mem de Sá*, in *Annaes da Biblioteca Nacional do Rio de Janeiro*, 1876-1927, Volume XXVII. For the relations between the governors general and the Jesuits cf. Leite, *História*, II, 140-153, especially 153.

While officials and the king praised their work, the governor would give no permission for the larger *aldeias*; the officials seemed inclined to keep the Indians at their petty wars; the white settlers were outstanding drawbacks to the spread of Christian practices, and, as the instigators of tyranny, deserved justice;<sup>70</sup> not even Thomé de Sousa had been able to get money from the king's *fazenda* for the support of a college or orphans or education of the natives;<sup>71</sup> the fathers lived on alms since they could not collect rentals from the whites, even though these were supposed to be given them by officials from the king's tax collections.

Mem de Sá, coming to a complete understanding with Nóbrega, pounced upon the Brazilian problems one by one. Space permits only a summary of his telling blows in the north during 1558 and 1559. He wrote for a subsidy for the Jesuit college, which came in 1559; he added support money for the other Jesuit residences, students, and boarders in the schools; he authorized the amalgamation of smaller *aldeias* into large Indian centers, thus strengthening the framework of society. The Jesuits, besides enlarging the Rio Vermelho *aldeia*, soon developed three greater villages, named São João, Espírito Santo, and São Paulo. In the latter, after elaborate ceremonial openings, Nóbrega lived during months of illness. Over each friendly chieftains held sway, while Black Robes directed spiritual and temporal affairs. The governor, literally and figuratively, became godfather to whole groups of Indians. His troopers, sent to check marauding savages, soon indicated to the wild men that laws would be enforced. Expeditions successfully pacified those to the south around Ilhéus, Porto Seguro, and Espírito Santo, who were nightmares to the fathers in *aldeias*. Trials and punishments came to white and Indian lawbreakers. Within six months the hopes of Nóbrega for a fuller spiritual and cultural conquest were again in the ascendant. New churches, schools, farms, and *aldeias*, in smoother operation around Bahia, presaged happier days and permitted the extension of civilization into the *sertão*.<sup>72</sup>

Cheering news arrived from Rome in 1559. Word of the election of James Lainéz as general of the Society and of the choice of Luiz da Grã as provincial of Brazil filled Nóbrega with joy.

<sup>70</sup> CJ II, 179-197, especially 180, Brother Blásquez to Father General, 1558.

<sup>71</sup> NCJ, 63, Nóbrega to Father Torres, September 2, 1557.

<sup>72</sup> For statements of this paragraph cf. letters in CJ II, 179-192, 194-197, 198-201, and NCJ, 75-87.

Under date of July 30 he wrote to Lainez an account of his stewardship over the period of ten years with a survey of the state of his province. He rated himself "as one born out of time"; he was a forerunner, whose labors had been spade work; he trusted that others would gather the harvest, which he felt assured would be abundant.<sup>73</sup> After presenting his realistic estimate of the status of Brazilian society, Nóbrega again stepped down into the ranks, and awaited the arrival of Grã from the south.

Despite infirmities he plunged into the work in progress at the São Paulo church and school, where fathers and brothers were preachers, teachers, medics, infirmarians, servants, and directors of the newer life of the Indians. Bishop Pedro Leitão reached São Salvador, December 8, 1559, to begin fourteen years of devoted work.<sup>74</sup> With him came seven new Jesuit missionaries. This augment brought the total of arrivals from Europe to 24; Nóbrega had received 31 in Brazil. The mortality rate had been high, while all suffered regularly from maladies, the worst of which were fevers and an illness whose main symptom was a bleeding from the throat. With a friendly prelate at the helm and Bahia strengthened in all ways attention was directed to the south where a serious menace had developed. The French were entrenched at Rio de Janeiro, and the Portuguese crown wanted them ejected.

#### V. RIO DE JANEIRO

The Bay of Rio de Janeiro, Baía de Guanabara, was the homeland of two important tribes of Indians, the Maracajas, most of the time friends of the Portuguese, and the Tamóios, most of the time enemies.<sup>75</sup> The region had from early times been visited by French and Portuguese traders, some of whom dwelled there. When Nóbrega with Thomé de Sousa at the end of 1552 stopped briefly at the bay, he instructed the Maracajas and probably said the first Mass in that vicinity. Thomé was for establishing a settlement, but owing to illness prevailing among the men and tribal warfare he laid other plans. Thus, in April 1555, he had a large village of Maracajas transported as a colony up the coast to the captaincy of Espírito Santo. Control of the bay area and of the coast toward São Vicente for many miles was in the hands of Tamói chieftains, lords of whom were two named Cunhambeba, one a veritable devil, according to report.

<sup>73</sup> NCJ, 89, Nóbrega to Lainez, July 30, 1559; cf. CJ II, 247-249.

<sup>74</sup> Leite, *História*, 522-524; CJ III, 309.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 361-370.

Seven months after this transfer, November 10, Cavelier Nicolas Durand de Villegaignon came to Rio with a Huguenot colony and built a stronghold on the island now bearing his name. This was the famed *Antarctica* project of Coligny. Strangely enough, the leader is reputed to have tried to enlist French Jesuits to come with him, failing which he brought the secularized Franciscan, André Thevet. Making friends with the Tamóios Villegaignon's colony alarmed the Portuguese court, since it threatened São Vicente. Tamóios, fearful enough in their own right, were dread spectres when armed with French weapons for attacks on São Vicente. Moreover, French corsairs were in a position to sail east to intercept Portuguese commerce plying the west coast of Africa.

Portugal acted. An armada was sent to Bahia in 1559. It got under way from Bahia on January 16, 1560, the governor general in command and Nóbrega aboard.<sup>76</sup> The eight ships stood off the islands of Guanabara February 21. Nóbrega was so ill that he had to continue on to São Vicente. Apparently, the captain of his boat was to gather reinforcements for the governor, who had estimated the strength of the French. Boats, one carrying artillery, and war canoes manned by Indians and Mamelucos were soon on the way. The new forces had along two Jesuits, a father chaplain and a brother interpreter. These joined Mem de Sá, who launched his attack on the French fort March 15. In the absence of Villegaignon, the sixty French and their eight hundred Tamóio allies were routed by about one hundred twenty Portuguese and one hundred forty Indian allies. This victory constituted the first phase of the conquest of Rio de Janeiro, even though French settlers remained around the bay.

After the two days' assault Mem de Sá went to São Vicente to confer with a very sick Padre Nóbrega, who lay emaciated except for swellings and abcesses from head to foot. Nóbrega and Mem de Sá were agreed on plans to occupy the Bay of Rio by means of sturdy settlements. But to do this meant new conflict with the hostile Tamóios. The governor then sailed for the north, where he arrived August 29, taking with him the new Jesuit provincial, Luiz da Grã, and leaving Nóbrega with great work to be done.

<sup>76</sup> For the attack on the French numerous short accounts could be cited. Anchieta has one in *CJ III*, 144-160, to the Father General, Lainéz, June 1, 1560; Nóbrega's is in *CJ I*, 223-227, Nóbrega to Cardinal Henry, June 1, 1560. The Jesuit leader constantly had in mind the foundation of a great city on the bay, and clearly proposed the steps to be taken toward this end; cf. *ibid.*, 227.

The restless seeker of souls had recuperated sufficiently by the end of June to be off to Piratininga. If this article were to become a book (which would do more justice to the theme) details of Nóbrega's next two years of work might be narrated.<sup>77</sup> Though interesting they must be synopsized. He visited *aldeias*; he preached, sometimes thrice a week; he heard confessions, with and without interpreters depending upon whether the penitents were whites, *mamelucos*, slaves, or Indians. From the plains he returned to São Vicente, there to act as pastor to the three settlements. He conducted cases of conscience; he instructed younger Jesuits and directed them in retreats held at a *casita* which he had had built for the purpose. He was revered by the Jesuits for his experience and kindness, was consulted by them and by settlers. Never in his writings do we find reference to his relatives or to things he had left in Portugal. He had become to all appearances a Brazilian, laboring and hoping in the cause of his adopted land.

His next service to the crown and to Brazil was a clear manifestation of his leadership and ingenuity. It was also the second important step toward the foundation of Rio de Janeiro. Things began with a Tupi attack on the College of São Paulo in July 1562. Indians of the *sertão* were obviously getting bolder and more restless. Furthermore, from the east and north came Tamóio raiders, capturing Christian Indians of the São Vicente vicinity, slaying some and holding some as slaves. The condition of the entire south was critical by 1563. Added to this the civilized natives were deserting their villages in fear or were backsliding into paganism. Such as these attacked Piratininga. In carrying out the cruel duty of punishment following the Christians' victorious defense, the victors caused old hatreds to flame anew. Instructions could not be carried on, and Christian laws began to lapse. Even two war parties sent against the fierce Tamóios at Nóbrega's suggestion failed to halt their depredations.

<sup>77</sup> CJ III, 165-176, Anchieta to Lainez, June 12, 1561; *ibid.*, 177-180, *id.* to *id.*, September 20, 1562; *ibid.*, 181-193, *id.* to *id.*, April 16, 1563. NCJ, 93-112, has five letters of Nóbrega, from April 14 to June 12, 1561.

One of Nóbrega's main worries was financing and supporting the Jesuit establishments. He and Father Grã had discussions on the interpretation of the Jesuit constitutions regarding poverty; there was no question of antipathies or personal distrust between the two, since both were striving to attain the ideal of being absolutely poor, and both had scruples about acquiring (for the Society) houses, farms, and slaves. Grã's argument that the fathers should beg food and shelter seemed impractical to Nóbrega, in view of the fact that nobody in Brazil had any alms to give; the situation in Europe where Nóbrega had begged according to Grã's ideal, was different. Further discussion of this is presented in Dr. Espinosa's article, note 9.

Nóbrega decided upon a daring stroke. This, based upon the policy "divide and conquer," was a plan to divide the Tamóios of the coast closer to São Vicente from those around the Bay of Rio and then to unite the Rio division with faithful Tupis of his vicinity. The alliance would make the civilization of Rio less difficult. But who would dare to go to the Tamóios with the peace proposal? Nóbrega volunteered, and the Portuguese officials accepted his offer with profound gratitude, knowing his life was being jeopardized for the safety of the south.

The Jesuit leader's choice of a companion obviously fell upon Brother José de Anchieta, who knew all tongues, even those of birds of the air, it was said. They set out in canoes to get to the boats of one José Adorno, a prominent Genoese, who was agreeable to the Tamóios because of his neutral nationality. With him and some Portuguese the peace party embarked on April 23. Anchieta has left a fine account of the entire trip.<sup>78</sup>

The first stop was for Mass on the island full of "tigers," São Sebastião. May 6 found them about half the distance to Rio in enemy land at Iperoig. They announced their mission, but the Tamóio chief doubted their identity as padres (to whom alone of all Portuguese he would speak) until a woman formerly of São Vicente recognized Nóbrega as the great Christian chief. Welcome then was theirs. Anchieta went among villagers crying aloud his desire to be peaceful and to instruct all. Some recalled how these fathers had prevented Tupis from devouring them on one occasion, whereupon word of their arrival and call spread through the land. One prominent leader invited the two to his shelter, which led to a complication verging on war, since each village wished to play host. By May 9 some children were instructed for baptism and Mass was said to the utter amazement of the savages. Though watched at every step Nóbrega and Anchieta preached freely against paganism and cannibalism, winning the affection of the people, and the esteem of the warriors.

Many trials and dangers were encountered during the weeks of the peace negotiations. Nóbrega and Anchieta were in reality hostages. Any overt act of the Tupis meant their death. There were five groups of Tamóios in the confederacy, each treacherous, each capable of upsetting all plans in a moment. The total force of the confederates would be some two hundred canoes of twenty to thirty-five warriors each. This force was massing, it

<sup>78</sup> CJ III, 196-200, Anchieta to Lainéz, January 1565. Cf Leite, *História*, I, 366-375.

seemed at first, for a devastating attack on São Vicente. Cunhambeba of Rio, a chief with twelve canoes, whose boast was his personal consumption of three hundred Tupis, miraculously changed his mind about devouring the fathers. Others began to arrive May 27 for the general council. Chiefs Pindobuçu and Aimbiré coming from Guanabara Bay also had appetites well whetted for killing and eating the ambassadors. Adorno, on his way to talk peace around Rio, dissuaded the cruel Aimbiré, telling him to calm down because he himself was then in grave danger. The chief arriving at Iperoig found the others already in the armistice and he therefore joined in the great pow-wow.

In this Nóbrega, Anchieta, Adorno, a French captain from Rio, Indian chiefs, and medicine men had their say. Anchieta, speaking for Nóbrega, proposed peace between Tamóios, Tupis, and Portuguese, and peaceful trade and communication. The Tamóios wanted, as a preliminary to any discussion, some Tupi chiefs for eating, especially those who had attacked Piratininga. This was flatly turned down by the Jesuits. The upshot of fifteen days' discussion was that the ambassadors would have to return to São Vicente with terms for the officials. Chief Aimbiré was even then plotting an assault on São Vicente as a means of thwarting the peace, and the rebel Tupis were massing to stop it by war. Someone had to go to São Vicente to mollify the Tupis and report the conference. The assembled chieftains would not allow both Jesuits to go, and hence Nóbrega went on June 21, leaving Anchieta to carry on as hostage and representative until all was settled in September.

Nóbrega was again very ill, but in São Vicente he forced a settlement with three hundred Tupis in the Jesuit college of São Paulo de Piratininga. Then Cunhambeba with many others came to the church of Itanhaém, near São Vicente, and Nóbrega had the happiness of seeing Tupis and Tamóios embrace each other and promise peace. Cunhambeba returned to restore the hostage Anchieta to Nóbrega on September 22, 1563.

With peace made, and before the natives changed their fickle minds, the moment for fortifying and populating the great harbor of Rio seemed propitious. Nóbrega stands out as the soul of the glorious enterprise leading to the foundation of a second colonial capital, now grown to world fame. Many pressing reasons urged the Portuguese to strike roots in the bay area or else lose the south. French corsairs still lurked along the coast, pausing at times to attack the settlements; they threatened to kill any-

one found saying Mass; they jeopardized the progress already made in civilization; "fifth columnists" still lived around Guanabara Bay, who might stir up the Tamóios or betray the place to France. On the positive side, Cunhambeba's friendship opened up a promising field for new mission work.

Details of the foundation of Rio de Janeiro have received justice from many Brazilian historians.<sup>79</sup> They can only be summarized here, with a suggestion that some writer bring them all together in book form for North American readers. On notices of conditions in Brazil, Queen Catherine in 1563 sent two armed galleons under Estacio de Sá, nephew of the governor, to clear the coast of French boats and fortify the harbor. At Bahia Estacio gathered reinforcements and was dispatched south by Mem de Sá under instructions to do nothing until he had consulted with Nóbrega. In January 1564 Estacio moved to Espírito Santo, enlisted the aid of a friendly chieftain, and then arrived at Rio in February. From here he sent a small boat to São Vicente for Nóbrega. For some reason the padre and Anchieta did not set out until March 19. They stopped to greet the Tamóios of Iperoig and reached Rio during a storm in the middle of the night of March 31—making two hundred miles in twelve days. They found no galleons, no Estacio, but only hostile Tamóios! The captain, worried about the two months' delay, had started for São Vicente. He was driven back into port the next morning, Easter Saturday, thus preventing the capture of the Jesuits by tribesmen.

Evidences of native misdoings, burned houses, remains of human carcasses, slain slaves, and signs of a plague dictated the immediate procedure. The Tamóios were ugly. The best place to lay plans was indeed elsewhere. Therefore, on Nóbrega's advice, the armada was steered to São Vicente. On its arrival there in April Nóbrega was indefatigable in making detailed preparations for the conquest of Rio. With the captain he made trips to villages and to Piratininga, publishing pardons to chiefs, enlisting warriors, gathering settlers, supplies, construction materials, organizing Indians and mameculos as colonists to the number of two hundred. He appointed Father Gonçalo Oliveira chaplain and, best of all, Anchieta as chronicler of the expedition. When the fleet left on January 22, 1565, Nóbrega remained at São Vi-

<sup>79</sup> Cf. Leite, *História*, I, 381-389, for some references; for the following account of the Jesuits, cf. CJ III, 245-254, Anchieta to Father Mirão, July 9, 1565. This is annotated by Afrânio Peixoto.

cente to continue his efforts toward making the Rio settlement a success.

Estacio de Sá established the city officially at the entrance to the bay on March 1, 1565. Beforehand he had had his fears for the expedition. What account could he give to God and the king if his colony was destroyed, he had asked Nóbrega. To which he heard a confident response: "Senhor, I will give God an account of all, and if it be necessary, I will go before the King and answer for you."<sup>80</sup> Now, he still had fears for two years, necessarily maintaining military rule until 1567. But he placed his fortifications and artillery remarkably well for controlling Tamóios and repelling the French. Nóbrega at São Vicente and São Paulo continued his missionary work. He was not satisfied with the conditions around São Vicente, and he sought permission to move the students from there and from São Paulo to Rio, so earnest was he about making the new city a great center.

#### VI. RECTOR OF RIO

The newly fortified section of the Bay of Rio de Janeiro was dedicated to St. Sebastian, patron of the ill-fated young king of Portugal. So too was the church built in the shadow of Sugar Loaf Mountain by Chaplain Oliveira, the first, formal Catholic building of the great city.

In the course of events it became time for the Roman headquarters of the Society of Jesus to hold an inspection of the Province of Brazil. Both Nóbrega, director of the southern part, and Grã, the provincial, had requested a Visitor, primarily to settle certain points of action which were in dispute, but with a view to manifesting the weaknesses of the province as regards man power and its possibilities with more aid. In February 1566 letters patent for the office of Visitor were sent by the new Jesuit general, St. Francis Borgia, to Inácio Azevedo (Azevedo).<sup>81</sup>

The Visitor arrived in Bahia on August 24, 1566. There he viewed the *aldeias* so capably organized. The stamp of his approval went on the work. Moreover, he authorized the novitiate and approved its practices to the time. He suggested the necessary reorganization of the curriculum for the College of Bahia, and corrected the minor faults of its religious.<sup>82</sup>

Inspection soon became the order of the day in Brazil. Gov-

<sup>80</sup> Leite, *História*, I, 382, has this and the variant.

<sup>81</sup> *Monumenta Historica Societatis Jesu (MHSJ)*, Polanco *Complementum*, II, 660.

<sup>82</sup> *MHSJ, Borgia*, IV, 341-345, Azevedo to Borgia, November 19, 1566, and *ibid.*, 411-413, Azevedo to Borgia, February 20, 1567.

ernor Mem de Sá had determined to visit the south, especially to get rid of the French who again were strengthening a position on Guanabara Bay. Bishop Leitão likewise had a visitation to make in the south in order to appreciate better his vast diocese. Grã, of course, would accompany the Jesuit Visitor. These four with the newly ordained Father Anchieta sailed down the coast, stopping at the various ports, Ilhéus, Porto Seguro, and Espírito Santo. Arriving in the harbor of Rio on January 18, 1567, Mem de Sá turned the expedition into a conquest. Without delay he attacked the fortifications of the French, routing defenders and their Indian allies, and ending a stubborn resistance by expulsion. The joyous occasion was spoiled by the loss of Estacio de Sá who was struck in the face by an arrow and died within a month.<sup>83</sup>

After spending some time with the three Jesuits living in Rio, Grã embarked for São Vicente in Lent and from there reached his journey's end, São Paulo de Piratininga, in April. Nóbrega appeared old beyond his years, worn by labor and illnesses. Azevedo, deeply impressed by the holiness of the men he had met, was filled with a desire to join Nóbrega and Grã in their poverty and living martyrdom. No greater approval of the builder's fundamental work and of the possibilities of missionary life in Brazil could have been offered than Azevedo's desire to follow the paths which he had made. Rejoicing in the spiritual stimulation and intellectual companionship of each other, the Visitor, the provincial, the founder, and Anchieta betook themselves to the western side of Guanabara Bay to begin, as Nóbrega had long wished, a great Jesuit college. They arrived at Rio de Janeiro on July 24, 1567.<sup>84</sup>

What part Nóbrega played in the consultations held by Mem de Sá regarding the transfer of settlers to the new city of Morro de S. Januario do Castelo cannot be told in detail. Certainly, the pioneer padre's opinion was asked on almost all important questions whether moral, religious, dogmatic, administrative, social, or military. The government officials, the bishop, and the Jesuits respected his ever practical advice. He was a man of the new land, a father to all peoples, weighing problems without selfish considerations, judging things in their relation to the greater good of the greatest number and the greater glory to God. Aze-

<sup>83</sup> CJ I, 53, Franco, *Vida*.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*, 54; CJ III, 326; Leite, *História*, 391-392, 398, and map of Guanabara Bay facing page 400.

vedo, in agreement with his suggestions, had ordained that a Jesuit novitiate and house of studies should be founded on the higher land overlooking the beautiful harbor. These training schools, according to the Jesuit pattern, were to be forerunners of a college for secular students. Over this incipient college he put Nóbrega, the father of the province, as rector, giving him control over all Jesuit houses of the south with powers to readjust the Jesuit personnel and to reorganize with Rio as a center. Mem de Sá, in line with instructions from the king, gave the fathers a plot of ground within the new city and guaranteed sufficient money from the king's coffers to support fifty Jesuits.<sup>55</sup>

The sight of buildings in construction and of workmen, hammers, and shovels, coupled with Azevedo's encouragements, gave Nóbrega a new lease on life. A new city, a new cultural center, more *aldeias*, loomed before his eyes. As rector and coordinator he went back to São Vicente and to São Paulo to gather supplies, implements, and some citizens, for an exodus to Rio. Novices from Piratininga were later brought to reside in the residence beside the new church of São Sebastião. Since the classroom building was not built in a day, the "collegians" remained in the schools at São Vicente and São Paulo. Particulars of Nóbrega's movements during the latter half of 1567 are lacking, probably because of his intense activity in directing building, in preaching, confessing, assigning programs for the organization of Tamói *aldeias*, and in consulting with the higher officials—Mem de Sá, Bishop Leitão, Azevedo, and Grã. And he was not well, according to Franco, for the land was new, the food scarce, and the shelter poor. His spirit, however, rejoiced; Azevedo had promised to send many helpers to his Brazil.

The Visitor tried hard enough to get away. Three times during 1567 he attempted to round Cabo Frio, three times to be driven back to Rio. Only in March 1568 did he reach Bahia. He sailed for Portugal in August, got to Lisbon on October 31, and at the end of May 1569 was in Rome giving an account to the general of his inspection. A month later, Father Francis Borgia, in view of Grã's term of office and Nóbrega's illness and building

<sup>55</sup> Estacio de Sá in 1565 gave the Jesuits the site for the old church of S. Sebastião; the king confirmed the grant for this church in the new city on January 11, 1568, though Azevedo had accepted the property from Mem de Sá in August of 1567; *ibid.*, I, 391-392; King Sebastião's donation to the new college was an annual rental of 2,500 cruzados; *ibid.*, I, 410 ff., for finances, and 545-547 for the *auto*, or foundation charter; cf. also Fernão Cardim, *Tratados da Terra e Gente do Brasil*, edited by Rodolfo Garcia *et al.*, second edition, São Paulo, 1939, 306-309, 360-362.

task, appointed Azevedo provincial of Brazil with permission to gather as many missionaries as possible.<sup>86</sup>

Fired with enthusiasm Azevedo put up at various Jesuit colleges in Italy, Spain, and Portugal, begging in each for volunteers to go with him to Brazil.<sup>87</sup> By the end of the year he had over seventy, and when the departure was about to take place, June 5, 1570, he had distributed them on three ships of the fleet, twenty-three on one, thirty-nine with himself on the *Santiago*, and three on another. These were the long sought reinforcements for Nóbrega; these were the fathers and youthful brothers who would assuredly have done much to make the founder's dream come true, they who would have taught in the colleges, developed more reductions, and evangelized the sertão Indians. But the waiting Nóbrega never learned their fate. The ships were a scant three leagues from anchorage in the Canary Islands when suddenly the fleet of the notorious French pirate, Jacques Sória (Sores, Suárez, "Peg Leg"), swooped down on the *Santiago*. Practically without opposition the Huguenot corsairs bounded over her sides with the cry: "Kill them, kill them, for they go to spread the false doctrine in Brazil." The forty Jesuits were cruelly slain or drowned in the seas, July 15-16, 1570. They have been beatified by the Church as martyrs. Their fellows on the other boats were reorganized in the Islands to continue to Brazil, but storms drove them on Cuba's shores. From there they made their way back to the Azores on Spanish ships. Again they started for Brazil, this time fourteen in number. Pirates, in the very same *Santiago* taken the year before, captured them and put twelve to the sword on September 13-14, 1571. Thus were the Brazilian missions dealt a fearful blow.

Meantime, Nóbrega, rounding out twenty years of work, prepared for the coming of Azevedo during 1569 and 1570. We may turn to the pages of Father Franco for an account of the manner in which he finished his life.<sup>88</sup>

The Padre went about putting in order the affairs of the college and aiding in the foundation of the new city, feeling the approach of his last hour, bearing many infirmities and with all these not relaxing in his zeal.

<sup>86</sup> CJ II, 482, 490, 497; *MHSJ, Borgia*, V, 23.

<sup>87</sup> There are eleven letters between Borgia and Azevedo written from February 1569 to June 2, 1570 (three days before Azevedo sailed); these are published in *MHSJ, Borgia*, V, 23, 27, 62, 155, 187, 191, 194, 231, 236, 319, 409. For a running account of Azevedo's journey, for statistics, and additional documentation, cf. Leite, *História*, II, 242-265.

<sup>88</sup> CJ I, 54-55, Franco, *Vida*.

He came to the assistance of the Portuguese with sermons, he directed the Governor Salvador Corrêa de Sá. Added to this he had care of teaching the Indians who had come from the captaincy of Espírito Santo at the time of the conquest [of Rio]. These he brought together in a large village on the lands of the College, there to be more in quiet. This *aldeia* was ever in great increase and came to be a valiant defense for the city against Tamoyos, French, and English.

Father Nóbrega passed the rest of his life, three years, in Rio, ever with much work. Because he was very ill and the land new (into which the settlers did not dare to extend through fear of enemies), he had much need of the means to sustain his body. The greater gifts which he got were some alms sent to him by the superior of S. Vicente [Anchieta]. And so Our Lord wished that he, who all his life went with such great zeal and care gathering sustenance for all the Brethren in Brazil, in the end should be deprived of these means by embracing the cross of obedience, which in his case permitted the corporal wants but filled him with spiritual consolations.

He had a presentiment long before, according to what he wrote to S. Vicente [Anchieta], that life for him was about to end. As the time drew nearer, God drew nearer to him. He became absorbed with the meditations of St. Augustine and spent a great part of the day in colloquies [with God] and aspirations, for he was tenderly devoted [to God] and easily given to tears. Two or three days before his death he went walking through the city saying goodbye to friends and well-wishers of the Society. They asked him where he intended to go, since there was no boat in the port. He responded: "To our celestial fatherland."

He was overcome by great pains caused by his blood, since he had not been bled for a long time. He was forced to bed, where he was only a day or two. Soon he was prepared with the sacraments which are customarily received in emergency. He called for a father urging him to make haste and anoint him immediately. Having received the extreme unction, he told one of the fathers that he should say Mass right away before he expired and that the other father should wait until after.

After a short space of time, with a little discharge of blood from the mouth, he gave his spirit to the Lord, on the 18 of October of the year 1570, the day of St. Luke, on which very day he was born. The saintly Father Anchieta has it that on this day he also entered the Society, but what was stated in the beginning of this biography [November 21, 1544] is what is recorded in the books of the entrances of novices in the College of Coimbra.

His death was deeply felt, because he was as a father to all the new city of Rio de Janeiro, in whose College he died and in its Church was buried, amid the tears of his sons, of his Indians and Portuguese, who loved him much. This great man was as a universal father of the

Christendoms of Brazil which he saw abundantly founded and made into numerous villages of people brought from jungles, where they lived like beasts, and elevated with Christian customs.<sup>89</sup>

In interpreting the ways of the times it may be said that Nóbrega died in the morning during the first Mass. The second Mass was his requiem, and, after the office for the dead had been recited and his remains viewed by the people, he was buried in the afternoon of the same day. At fifty-three years of age, against apparently insurmountable physical handicaps, he had given a full life for the life of his adopted land. He was not aware that he was once more provincial, duly appointed at Rome in September by St. Francis Borgia.

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## Luiz da Grā, Mission Builder and Educator of Brazil

In recording the history of Jesuit activities in Brazil in their pioneering or heroic period, the figures of Nóbrega and Anchieta have long overshadowed those of their companions. However, the recent findings of Portuguese and Brazilian scholars make it necessary to revise some of our former points of emphasis. The importance of the rôles of Nóbrega and Anchieta remain unchanged; but to their names we must now add others, notably that of Luiz da Grā, whose work cannot be fairly disassociated from that of his more famous companions in relating the history of Jesuit beginnings in Brazil. His influence on the Brazilian social scene of his day was far-reaching. This remarkable trio—Nóbrega, Anchieta, and Grā—personify all that was noble and of lasting value in the mind and spirit of sixteenth-century Brazil.

### I

Father Grā was born in Lisbon, the son of Antonio Taveira, of noble family, about the year 1523.<sup>1</sup> He was among the first who joined the newly organized Society of Jesus in Portugal. In 1543 he entered the University of Coimbra, where he studied civil law and arts, entering the Society there on June 20, 1543. After completing his studies with brilliance, and as yet in his twenties, from 1547 to 1550 he served as the fourth rector of the famous university and "missionary college" of Coimbra.<sup>2</sup>

These were years of controversy in the young Jesuit province of Portugal. One question was that of the quality of the Jesuit missionaries being sent to India and Brazil. Due to insufficient recruits during the early days, in view of the expanding mission

<sup>1</sup> Serafim Leite, *História da Companhia de Jesus no Brasil*, Rio de Janeiro, 1938, II, 471. Luiz da Grā was an illegitimate child, an impediment which was brought before the Jesuit authorities in Rome for removal shortly after he became rector at the University of Coimbra.

<sup>2</sup> By his example, Grā was a real influence in forming the character of his companions. Father António Pires, for example, credited Grā with having influenced him to remain in the Society during his early years of indecision. Pires was a member of the first Jesuit band to go to Brazil, where he proved a most able missionary. See António Pires to the members of the Society in Portugal, Pernambuco, June 5, 1553, in Afrânia Peixoto, general editor, *Cartas Jesuíticas*, 3 volumes, Rio de Janeiro, 1931-1933, II, 124; these will be cited as CJ I, II, and III.

fields, Francis Xavier had said that in India there was need of humble but zealous missionaries as well as those well trained and educated; now it was alleged that the best men were being reserved for activities in Europe, and that many inferior men were being sent to the overseas missions. To counter this view, which reached the ears of the royal authorities, who had assumed the vicariate of evangelizing Portugal's expanding empire, a conscious effort was made by the Society to send some of the very best trained men to work in the overseas missions.<sup>3</sup> Nóbrega, who had been sent to found the Jesuit mission in Brazil, would have added luster to the faculty of any European university. Grã was one of the ablest professors at the University of Coimbra.<sup>4</sup>

There were other reasons for sending to Brazil at this time a Jesuit of the training and intellectual caliber of Grã. Nóbrega, from the beginning, had been requesting a Jesuit Visitor, or a companion with authority to assist him in administering the far-flung Brazilian province, because of the great distance between the Jesuit houses in Brazil, and the precarious means of transportation along the coast, and to counsel with in the solution of the many difficult moral and ethical problems which presented themselves on this raw frontier, and which he could not, or was hesitant to dare attempt to solve on his own initiative.<sup>5</sup>

Thus, Grã was sent as the leader of the third Jesuit expedition to Brazil, the famous little band of which José de Anchieta, then a young brother in the Society, was a member. Traveling on the same ship which carried the second governor general, Duarte da Costa, to Brazil, Grã and six Jesuit companions left Lisbon on May 8, 1553, and arrived at Bahia on July 13 of the same year.<sup>6</sup> Grã had been appointed by the Father General as *colateral*, or official companion of the Provincial Nóbrega, to remain

<sup>3</sup> Leite, *História*, II, 472, and 472, note 3.

<sup>4</sup> Brief sketches of Grã's life may be found in Leite, *História*, II, 471-477; CJ II, 293-294, note 165, and III, 50-52, note 4; Fernão Cardim, *Tratados da Terra e Gente do Brasil*, edited by Rodolfo Garcia et al, second edition, São Paulo, 1939, 351-352, note 56; Antonio Franco, *Ano Santo da Companhia de Jesus em Portugal* [1715], Porto, 1930, 241-242.

<sup>5</sup> See letter of Nóbrega to Luiz Gonçalves da Camara, São Vicente, June 15, 1553, and *id. to id.*, São Vicente, August 31, 1553, in Serafim Leite, *Novas Cartas Jesuíticas*, São Paulo, 1940, 39-50, 51-54 (cited hereinafter as NCJ).

<sup>6</sup> CJ II, 25; Simão de Vasconcellos, *Chronica da Companhia de Jesu do Estado do Brasil*, second edition, Lisbon, 1865, Liv. 1, no. 134; Leite, *História*, II, 472.

Grã carried with him patents from St. Ignatius appointing Nóbrega first Jesuit provincial of Brazil, and authorizing Nóbrega and Grã to make their professions of four vows.

in Bahia as a sort of vice-provincial when Nóbrega was in the southern captaincies, and vice versa. The office of *colateral*, created to meet a special need under unusual circumstances, was later done away with.<sup>7</sup>

As *colateral*, Grã, who was extremely scrupulous, differed with Nóbrega on various matters of conscience. He vigorously opposed the use of either Negro or Indian slaves by the Jesuits.<sup>8</sup> He opposed anything that smacked of engaging in commerce to support Jesuit work. At first he disagreed with Nóbrega over the right of the Jesuits to possess landed properties and herds of livestock; later, realizing that such properties were necessary for the advancement of missionary work, he modified his views, and was, in fact, instrumental in obtaining useful properties in Piratininga and Pernambuco. Their independent views, described as mixing sometimes "like oil and vinegar," tended to give greater balance and strength to the final decisions of the provincial, and hence had a constructive influence.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>7</sup> The patent by which Brazil was elevated to a province with Nóbrega as first provincial, dated Rome, July 7, 1553, was accompanied by the letter designating Grã as his *colateral*; Leite, *História*, II, 456, 456, note 2; Vasconcellos, *Chronica*, Liv. 1, no. 147. Nóbrega makes first mention of having received these orders and instructions on March 25, 1555; Leite, *História*, II, 457; NCJ, 55-56.

The position of *colateral* was not the equivalent of the present position of *socius*, or secretary to the provincial, in the present Jesuit administrative system. As *colateral* Grã was Nóbrega's companion in authority; Leite, *História*, II, 472, note 6.

<sup>8</sup> On the use of Negro slaves, long generally accepted in the Old World, there was division of opinion. For Grã's and Nóbrega's views on the subject see NCJ, 111, Nóbrega to Father General Lainez, São Vicente, June 12, 1561; see also Leite, *História*, II, 224-231.

<sup>9</sup> Leite, *História*, I, 59, 64, 86, 110-112, 143, 174; II, 473; CJ III, 51, note 4. The differences over property holding revolved around the interpretation of poverty as stated in the Jesuit Constitutions as it applied to the realities of the situation in Brazil. Nóbrega expresses frankly the character of their conflicting views in the following paragraphs:

"Father Luiz da Grã, it appears, wishes to pursue these matters in a different spirit, wishing to edify the Portuguese people here through poverty, and convert the natives in the manner of S. Peter and the Apostles, and as S. Francis won many through penance and the example of poverty, and I always was persuaded to follow this course when I was in authority, and even now I have hoped to foster it when possible; and I always have had scruples in the matter, because he is very zealous in holy poverty, in which he wished to see us possess nothing, neither lands nor slaves, since we are few, and without them we could support ourselves by begging alms.

... "These views of the Father have long caused me to ponder, and I am decidedly (subject, of course, to holy obedience) of an entirely contrary opinion, for it appears to me that the Society should have, and acquire justly as the Constitutions permit, what is necessary for the support of our Colleges. . . . We are in such a poor and miserable land, that nothing is gained by it [extreme poverty], for the people are so poor, that no matter how poor we may be, it will still appear that we are richer than they."

## II

On December 27, 1553, Grã wrote to St. Ignatius notifying him of the safe arrival in Brazil of the Jesuit band under his care. He had not written sooner because no ships had left Bahia prior to that time. He had not seen Nóbrega as yet, for the latter was in the south at São Vicente. Meanwhile he served as rector of the college at Bahia, where he was well liked by Governor da Costa, and was extremely popular among the townspeople.<sup>10</sup> Full of enthusiasm, and impressed by the great opportunities of conversion that presented themselves, he, like his companions, wrote in detail of the scene which unfolded before him. He had only words of praise for the Brazilian climate, water, and abundance of native game and fish. Livestock thrived on the land, and there was plenty of manioc, honey, and rice. He insisted that the land was rich and waiting for settlers, adding that conversion would bear real fruit if there were only enough settlers to first subjugate the great number of natives who were ripe for conversion. Deploring the barbaric customs of the natives, he added that great work was being done among the native children, among whom there was much hope when taken in hand before they had been exposed to the evil customs and habits of their elders. This interesting letter, full of descriptive details of the land and its people, was one of the first of those remarkable Jesuit letters of sixteenth-century Brazil which have become such a rich quarry of information on the early history of the land and the people of Portugal's American empire.

During his first days at Bahia, Grã, besides ministering to the Portuguese inhabitants, visited nearby Indian villages, and soon acquainted himself with the special problems of Indian customs and evangelization in the mission field which was to be his sphere of action for the next fifty-six years.

NCJ, 110, 111, 112, Nóbrega to Father General Lainéz, São Vicente, June 12, 1561.

Another point on which the two men differed was that of sending Brazilian Jesuits to Paraguay. On this matter Nóbrega finally acceded to the contrary opinion of Grã.

The correspondence of Nóbrega on these matters may be found in NCJ, 62-74, 75-87, 96, 99, 100, 103, 108, 110-112, and Leite, *História*, I, 296-299; II, 473.

These basic problems were difficult ones, and that is why Grã, when he became provincial in 1559, constantly urged the sending of a Jesuit Visitor to Brazil to settle at close range some of the many problems which were so hard to work out on the scene, or through slow moving correspondence between Brazil and Europe; NCJ, 103.

<sup>10</sup> He served as rector of the college at Bahia from 1554 to 1556, and later from 1574 to 1576; Leite, *História*, I, 59, 64.

In his first attempts to preach to the natives, through interpreter, in their native villages, the women withdrew with their children and hid in the woods, and their proud chieftains, in long discourses, and by loud singing, attempted to drown out his religious message. Under the influence of their witch-doctors they said that those who received Christian baptism would die, for some children who had been baptized by the missionaries had died shortly afterwards. The conversion of the native children, which appeared to be the only approach feasible, was rendered doubly difficult because of the great fondness of the natives for their children, whom they would not part with or leave to the care of the missionaries. In his preaching he found that they wished to hear nothing of death and the hereafter, for in their superstitious minds merely to think or dream of death was fatal. These were but a few of the problems presented by native custom and superstition.<sup>11</sup>

Nóbrega, already several years on the scene, was familiar with the problems Grã outlined, and had worked out the tentative plans he felt should be pursued. In view of the small number of Jesuits in Brazil, he hoped to make Bahia and São Vicente the two centers of activity, for they were key centers of settlement, and the gateways to large mission fields. Already he had written Grã of the need of concentrating resources at these two key points.<sup>12</sup> Nóbrega, at São Vicente, had learned of the Spanish subjugation of Paraguay, and dreamed of converting that vast region—a dream to come true many years later, after his time, through the establishment of the famed Jesuit Reductions of Paraguay in the seventeenth century. Nóbrega's interest in distant Paraguay was based on an argument which was to be repeated many times in Brazil and later by other Jesuits in other parts of America: that successful conversion was most likely in regions already subjugated, either by force of arms, or, preferably, as a result of peaceful European settlement. Paraguay, Nóbrega had been informed, was a land in which such favorable conditions already existed, something that could not be said of the barbaric Brazilian coast.<sup>13</sup> Meanwhile, Grã awaited the opportunity to embark for São Vicente to confer with Nóbrega.

<sup>11</sup> NCJ, 160-169, Grã to St. Ignatius, Bahia, December 27, 1553.

<sup>12</sup> At the beginning of 1555 there were twenty-six Jesuits in Brazil distributed as follows: 4 at Bahia, 2 at Porto Seguro, 2 at Espírito Santo, 5 at São Vicente, 13 at Piratininga; Vasconcellos, *Chronica*, Liv. 1, no. 192.

<sup>13</sup> NCJ, 58, 60-61, Nóbrega to St. Ignatius, São Vicente, March 25, 1555; *ibid.*, 68, Nóbrega to Father Miguel de Torres, Bahia, September 2, 1557.

Two years passed, and through lack of sea transportation "up to this time the two pillars of the Society in Brazil, Nóbrega and Grã, had not seen each other."<sup>14</sup> Grã, as *colateral*, was residing at Bahia, carrying forward the policies inaugurated there by Nóbrega, awaiting the opportunity to visit the latter at São Vicente. Nóbrega awaited his *colateral* with great anxiety, for he had decided to embark upon a missionary expedition to Paraguay, and wished to confer with Grã on the matter before carrying out the plan.<sup>15</sup> Finally Grã found passage south, but only as far as Espírito Santo, where he was again delayed. While at Espírito Santo he assisted Brother Braz Lourenço, who was residing there with a brother recently received into the Society. Here he found that the enslavement of the Indians by white settlers had caused the natives to remain far in the interior, thus rendering their conversion virtually an impossibility.<sup>16</sup> He deplored this situation, for the region was very fertile, and could well support Indian missions.<sup>17</sup> The future appeared hopeful, however, for gold and precious stones had recently been discovered on an expedition into the interior led by Captain Vasco Fernandes Coutinho, and Grã hoped that this might attract sufficient settlers to subjugate the region, and thus pave the way for conversion.<sup>18</sup> While at Espírito Santo, he witnessed the founding of the Indian *aldeia* of Nossa Senhora da Conceição, near the city.<sup>19</sup> According to Vasconcellos, Grã, through his negotiations with Fernandes Coutinho, the *donatario* of Espírito Santo, was largely responsible for the establishment of the large *aldeia*.<sup>20</sup>

On the very day that Nóbrega had planned to set out for Paraguay, May 15, 1555, he received news that Grã had arrived at São Vicente, and following the advice of the *colateral*, it

<sup>14</sup> Vasconcellos, *Chronica*, Liv. 1, no. 193; CJ III, 80, Letter of Anchieta, São Vicente, March 15, 1555; NCJ, 56, Nóbrega to St. Ignatius, São Vicente, March 25, 1555.

This is a perfect example of the lack of sea transportation along the coast of early Brazil. (Because of Indian hostility and topography, land transportation along the coast was out of the question.) Thus it may be seen why Nóbrega had early requested a companion with whom he could divide the administration in Brazil, north and south, the urgings which had resulted in the sending of Grã as his *colateral*.

<sup>15</sup> NCJ, 58, Nóbrega to St. Ignatius, São Vicente, March 25, 1555.

<sup>16</sup> NCJ, 177-178, Grã to Father Mirão (?), Espírito Santo, April 24, 1555.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, 178.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, 178.

<sup>19</sup> Grã's letter describes in detail the founding of the *aldeia*; *ibid.*, 180-181; Leite, *História*, I, 233-234, 363.

<sup>20</sup> Vasconcellos, *Chronica*, Liv. 1, no. 204.

would seem, the proposed expedition was abandoned.<sup>21</sup> Grã's view was that the Portuguese Jesuits should not extend their efforts into territory under Spanish dominion without specific instructions from Rome. Nóbrega's Paraguayan dream temporarily abandoned, the two Jesuit leaders turned to the reorganization of the various mission establishments in and around São Vicente and São Paulo de Piratininga.<sup>22</sup>

In January 1556 the Jesuit residence at Piratininga, still an inchoate college, was transformed into a perfect college (*collegio formado*), the first in Brazil. Piratininga was chosen for the site, since it was in the heart of the native settlements of the captaincy, and was well situated from the economic standpoint as well. The church and quarters, built of mud and straw, were soon completed, and classes in reading, writing, and Latin were inaugurated. All the movable properties of the Jesuits in the captaincy were centered there.<sup>23</sup> Leaving Grã in charge in the south, on May 3 Nóbrega embarked for Bahia, where he proposed to establish a second college; this, along with other mission problems relating to the Bahia district, he and Grã had fully agreed upon.<sup>24</sup> When Nóbrega left São Vicente it already had become the largest Jesuit missionary center in Brazil. Upon his return to Bahia, he soon consolidated Jesuit activities there and strengthened it as the hub of mission work in the north. Four Indian *aldeias*, each with a resident missionary, were soon flourishing as never before: on the Rio Vermelho, at São Sebastião (later Santiago), at Espírito Santo, and at São João.<sup>25</sup>

At São Vicente, in the south, Grã's zeal and spirit permeated the growing mission work there, already built on such lasting foundations through Nóbrega's efforts. He had able companions,

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, Liv. 1, no. 199; CJ III, 479-480.

<sup>22</sup> At São Vicente, in 1555, Grã and Nóbrega made their solemn profession of four vows; CJ I, 147.

<sup>23</sup> CJ III, 324-325; Vasconcellos, *Chronica*, Liv. 1, no. 202; Leite, *História*, I, 279, 299. Grã taught a class in cases of conscience to the student Jesuits at Piratininga until 1561, when the college was moved to nearby São Vicente, where a few externs attended classes; CJ III, 325; Vasconcellos, *Chronica*, Liv. 2, no. 84; Leite, *História*, I, 300. Eventually the central Jesuit college for southern Brazil was established at Rio de Janeiro, by decision of Nóbrega, Grã, and Visitor Azevedo; Leite, *História*, I, 260.

<sup>24</sup> CJ I, 40, Nóbrega to St. Ignatius, Piratininga, 1556; *ibid.*, 154-155; *ibid.*, II, 27, 293, note 165. Nóbrega arrived at Bahia on July 30, 1556, *ibid.*, II, 152.

The civil authorities in Portugal had urged the governor and bishop at Bahia in 1553 to order the establishment of a college there, but nothing had been done until the matter could be discussed with Nóbrega, the Jesuit provincial; NCJ, 167, Grã to St. Ignatius, Bahia, December 27, 1553.

<sup>25</sup> Vasconcellos, *Chronica*, Liv. 2, no. 4.

among them José de Anchieta, who showed remarkable ability in mastering the native tongue.<sup>26</sup> The activity of Grã, constantly on the move, was remarkable. Taking up temporary residence at Jeribatiba, an Indian *aldeia* six leagues from Piratininga, where he baptized many, and performed a number of Christian marriages, he scoured the region for souls, attempting especially to reach the children. He made many journeys on foot to distant Indian villages to preach against cannibalism, sometimes hastening to an Indian celebration where cannibalistic rites were about to be performed, and breaking in on the ceremonies just in time to save the life of a victim.<sup>27</sup> Rain or storm, he traveled the mountainous forest trail to Santos and São Vicente, on the coast, to minister to the Portuguese and instruct their slaves. And again, we find him bringing new members into the Society.<sup>28</sup> At Piratininga and at the Indian *aldeias*, Grã introduced for the first time the method of dialogues, with questions and answers, in the native language, in the teaching of Christian doctrine, a method which was applied with great success.<sup>29</sup> The class in cases of conscience which he inaugurated at Piratininga, preceded that of Bahia.

The unwelcome presence of French Protestants in the vicinity of the future city of Rio de Janeiro made itself felt in the religious life of São Vicente with the appearance of the Frenchman João Boles at São Vicente in 1559. Boles, a clever free-thinker, was preaching heretical ideas and ridiculing the Catholic religion. Upon hearing of this, Grã immediately set out from Piratininga to São Vicente, where he soon silenced the intruder. He had Boles seized and sent to Bahia. From Bahia, Bishop Leitão sent him to Portugal, and the last we hear of him he was in India. Thus through the efforts of Grã the spiritual unity of the colony was strengthened.<sup>30</sup> He was later to act in a similar

<sup>26</sup> As yet the best linguists among the Jesuits were some of those long resident in the land who had joined the Society in Brazil; NCJ, 73, Nóbrega to Torres, Bahia, September 2, 1557.

<sup>27</sup> CJ III, 153, Anchieta to the Father General, São Vicente, June 1, 1560; Vasconcellos, *Chronica*, Liv. 2, no. 87.

<sup>28</sup> CJ III, 90, Trimestral Letter, May-August 1556, Piratininga, written by Anchieta; *ibid.*, 95, Letter of Anchieta, Piratininga, December 1556; *ibid.*, 97, 101, Quadrimestral Letter, September-December 1556, Piratininga, 1557.

<sup>29</sup> Vasconcellos, *Chronica*, Liv. 2, no. 12.

<sup>30</sup> CJ III, 157-158, 161, 312, Anchieta to the Father General, São Vicente, June 1, 1560; Vasconcellos, *Chronica*, Liv. 2, nos. 66-68.

That Boles was in Brazil in 1567, and that Anchieta was responsible for his execution at that time, as some writers have stated, has been proved by the documents to be unfounded. Cf. J. Capistrano de Abreu, *Ensaios e Estudos*, Rio de Janeiro, 1938, 13-30.

rôle in Pernambuco, in the case of the troublesome ex-priest Antônio de Gouveia.

During these years the Jesuits also contributed to the material strengthening of the region, a work in which they were greatly aided through the close cooperation of their friend Governor Mem de Sá. On petition of the Jesuit leaders Nóbrega and Grã, the village of Santo André was transferred to Piratininga in 1560, for economic and defensive reasons; and of equally lasting importance, a new and safer road was opened between São Vicente and Piratininga, a road, long in use since that time, which was a great boon to the region.<sup>31</sup>

### III

On December 9, 1559, the second bishop of Brazil, D. Pedro Leitão, had arrived at Bahia. Accompanying him were a group of seven Jesuits, and they had with them letters patent for Grã, who had been appointed provincial to succeed Nóbrega.<sup>32</sup> The appointment was not unexpected, as Nóbrega's health had been failing for some time, and in private correspondence with his Jesuit superiors in Portugal and Rome he had emphasized Grã's qualifications, and had already learned of the appointment.<sup>33</sup> Grã, who was at that time in São Vicente, was now ordered to return to the capital, Bahia, and Nóbrega to take his place in São Vicente.<sup>34</sup> Upon receipt of the patent, Grã called his companions together, and kissing their feet and begging their assistance, he read to them the accompanying letter of exhortation from the Father General.<sup>35</sup> He now returned to Bahia with the governor, who had accompanied Nóbrega on his voyage south, leaving São Vicente in the latter part of June,<sup>36</sup> and reaching Bahia on August 29, 1560.<sup>37</sup>

Grã may not have had the flare for leadership and the initia-

<sup>31</sup> Vasconcellos, *Chronica*, Liv. 2, nos. 84-85; Leite, *História*, I, 257, 283-284.

<sup>32</sup> Leite, *História*, I, 561-562; CJ III, 345, note 437. Vasconcellos, *Chronica*, Liv. 2, nos. 63-64, erroneously gives the number of Jesuits as six.

<sup>33</sup> NCJ, 72-73, Nóbrega to Torres, Bahia, September 2, 1557; *ibid.*, 89-91, Nóbrega to Father General Diego Lainez, Bahia, July 30, 1559. The last mentioned letter contains the first reference by Nóbrega to Grã as the new provincial. He humbly assures the Father General that Grã will carry on more prudently than he in all matters.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>35</sup> Vasconcellos, *Chronica*, Liv. 2, no. 69.

<sup>36</sup> CJ III, 165, 175, note 190, Anchileta to Father General Lainez, São Vicente, June 12, 1561.

<sup>37</sup> NCJ, 228, note 106; CJ II, 30, 269, Ruy Pereira to the members of the Society in Portugal, Bahia, September 15, 1560; Vasconcellos, *Chronica*, Liv. 2, nos. 89-90.

tive of his predecessor, but in his new administrative post he proved equally capable and zealous. An eloquent and tireless preacher, a fine teacher, and a remarkably able missionary, during the next few years he was to contribute much in the work of moral and spiritual uplift and education in Bahia, and in the evangelization of the surrounding Indian *aldeias*.<sup>38</sup> He inaugurated a great era of *aldeia* work around Bahia, characterized by a considerable increase in the number of resident Jesuit *aldeia* establishments. Success in this work was to be greatly aided by the complete harmony between church and state, and the unstinting support and cooperation of Bishop Leitão and Governor Mem de Sá.<sup>39</sup>

At Bahia, Grã's tireless energy seemed to be contagious, and soon Jesuit activities there were buzzing with renewed vitality.<sup>40</sup> His immediate aims were threefold: more effective religious instruction of the slaves in Bahia, more intensive study of the native language by the Jesuits in order to facilitate mission work among the natives, and the greater expansion and consolidation of missionary work among the Indians. He arranged with the bishop to have slaves brought to the Jesuit church every afternoon for religious instruction, which had not been done for some time, and he himself instructed them in the native language, with much success. He also visited the houses of the whites in Bahia and in the nearby Villa Velha, winning many to volunteer their fullest cooperation in this work. At the Jesuit house the class study of Anchieta's manuscript grammar of the native language one hour daily was now made obligatory to all, Grã himself, well versed and instructed in the language and more adept than anyone else in explaining the rules, serving as teacher.

<sup>38</sup> At the time of his appointment as provincial there were already some forty Jesuits in Brazil, including the brothers and novices, the largest single group working in the south, in the captaincy of São Vicente; Vasconcellos, *Chronica*, Liv. 2, no. 65.

<sup>39</sup> For a description of the administrations of Leitão (1559-1573) and Mem de Sá (1557-1572), and their close affiliations with the Jesuits, cf. Leite, *História*, II, 150-153, 522-524.

<sup>40</sup> "Father Luiz da Grã, upon his arrival, has virtually set the place ablaze. . . . I expect that he will reap much fruit in this region very shortly. . . . I marvel at his tirelessness in this work," CJ II, 270, Ruy Pereira to the members of the Society in Portugal, Bahia, September 15, 1560; "When he arrived here at Bahia conditions were pretty bad, but since his arrival all is calm," *ibid.*, 275, Antônio Pires to *idem*, Bahia, October 22, 1560; "All of the fathers and brothers have received much consolation upon the arrival of Father Luiz da Grã, and both by his good example and his affability all have received inspiration in virtue and devotion, as well as in the fervor and desire to save souls and convert the natives," *ibid.*, 252, João Mello to Gonçalo Vaz, Bahia, September 13, 1560.

Thus Anchieta's grammar of the native Brazilian language, which was not to be published until 1595, was already being used in manuscript as a textbook in 1560. This class was humorously referred to by the fathers as "the Greek class."<sup>41</sup>

Very shortly after his arrival in Bahia, Grā called together the fathers and brothers of the district who were working among the Indians, in order to discuss ways and means of expanding the mission work, and also to obtain information to report to the governor on existing conditions. As a part of the program of expansion of mission work in northern Brazil, Grā hoped to establish Jesuit residences at Ilhéus, Porto Seguro, and Pernambuco in the near future.<sup>42</sup> He had brought with him from the south four brothers well versed in the native language.<sup>43</sup> The Indian *aldeias* near Bahia, of course, had been visited by the Jesuits since their first arrival in Brazil. But the mission system had not been fully worked out. Upon assuming his post as governor, and in accord with Nóbrega, Mem de Sá had ordered the concentration of the natives in large *aldeias*, fusing the smaller ones, thus establishing four large *aldeias* near Bahia: São Paulo, Espírito Santo, Santiago, and São João. Each *aldeia* was to be administered by uniform local civil and religious governing bodies, modeled more or less on the Portuguese town: a locally appointed Indian mayor with civil and police jurisdiction, and resident Jesuit missionaries to direct the moral, spiritual, and educational life of the people.<sup>44</sup> This was the Jesuit mission system (similar to the one adopted earlier by the Franciscans in New Spain), first attempted in the captaincy of São Vicente, and later adopted elsewhere, which is perhaps most widely known through its successful establishment and elaboration in Paraguay in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Needless to

<sup>41</sup> CJ III, 253-254, 270, 275. (These references are to the same three Jesuits letters just cited in the preceding note.)

<sup>42</sup> CJ II, 269-270, 271, Ruy Pereira to the members of the Society in Portugal, Bahia, September 15, 1560.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, 269.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, 256-260. A detailed analysis of the beginnings of the Jesuit mission system in Brazil—the best that has been written—may be found in Leite, *História*, II, 3-110. Mem de Sá prepared the way for success around Bahia by effectively pursuing the previously discussed policy of subjugation of the native savages as the preliminary for peaceful conversion: "Sem temor não se podia fazer fruto." As the Brazilian scholar Afrânio Peixoto puts it, "Between the romantic view of the noble savage . . . and extermination, the Germanic method . . . the pragmatic method of Mem de Sá, the Romanic and British policy of force followed by kindness, approved by the Jesuits, and even by Anchieta, appears the just one. Notwithstanding, force has always been repellent to inferior peoples—to all peoples." Peixoto's note, in CJ II, 272, note 149.

say, the famous Paraguay Reductions were not unique, for they had their origins in sixteenth-century Brazil.

The newly appointed provincial had arrived in Bahia from the south in August of 1560. From early October to the end of the year his time was spent almost entirely among the Indians of the surrounding Jesuit *aldeia* establishments. Thus intervening personally as apostle to these Indians, by 1562 he had increased the number of Jesuit *aldeias* of the region from four to eleven. Until 1566, when he was called to duties elsewhere, he was continually on the mission trail. His long journeys on foot, and his limitless energy and physical endurance, put his companions to shame, to paraphrase their own humble admission.<sup>45</sup> Grā's labors among the Indians around Bahia constitute one of the most glorious chapters in sixteenth-century Jesuit mission history. The most extensive catechizing in sixteenth-century Brazil originated here, overshadowing for a time even São Vicente, Anchieta's vineyard. The Bahia missions passed through four phases: the period of promising beginnings, from 1556 to 1559; the period of intensive development, from 1560 to 1562; the crushing setback caused by the great famine and epidemic of 1563-1564; and the difficult period of slow reconstruction from 1562 to the end of the century.

#### IV

Grā began his visitation of the missions by journeying to a small Indian village one league from the city, where a number of the natives had already received Christian baptism and matrimony. After performing a number of baptisms there, he went on to the *aldeia*, or mission, of Espírito Santo, six leagues north of the city, where he was given a gala welcome. As he approached the mission village he was met by the local chiefs, who had gone out to meet him, accompanied by musicians, and followed by the entire populace. They greeted him with the words: "Praised be Jesus Christ!" Arriving on a Friday, on the following Sunday many Christian baptisms and marriage ceremonies were performed.

<sup>45</sup> ". . . he is so enduring that very little is left for the rest of us to do; he seems to be tireless; those who know him marvel, for he preaches two hours to the whites, then, on the same day, he preaches to the women, and then to the slaves, spending so much time in this work that he has no time to eat; and frequently he says his beads late into the night: in fine, he puts us all to shame." All this after just returning to the college from a tour of the outlying missions, and attending to a number of purely administrative matters as provincial; CJ II, 276-277, António Pires to the members of the Society in Portugal, October 22, 1560.

From there Grã proceeded along the coast to another Indian village three leagues farther north. The natives here had frequently been visited by the Jesuits, and had been promised a resident missionary. Upon learning of Grã's presence in Bahia they had sent a delegation there to visit him, and to request that the promise be fulfilled. Now he was approaching the village to discuss plans for establishing a Jesuit residence there. For the natives it was a great occasion. When Grã left Espírito Santo he was accompanied by many natives, and with the others who joined him on the way, it was a large concourse that approached the village. He was welcomed in the gala manner in which the Indians had formerly welcomed their witch-doctors. A league from the settlement, across a river which they normally crossed in their small boats, a bridge had been built. At this point an arbor had been prepared, with a hammock for Father Grã to rest in, and refreshments. There an Indian leader stepped forth and greeted the Jesuit provincial with the following words: "You have come; I rejoice upon your coming and am very happy; the roads rejoice, the plants, the branches, the birds, the old women, the young girls, the children, the waters, all rejoice; all love God!"

After the Father Provincial had arrived at the quarters which had been prepared for him and his companions, old and young made their way there to render homage and present him with gifts. The following day he preached to the natives. Asking them if they were pleased with his coming, and desired a resident missionary to teach them Christian doctrine, they all answered in the affirmative. They then were reminded that they must give up their pagan customs and live as Christians, and instructed to set up a post for the punishment of offenders. When the Jesuits left, some of the chiefs accompanied them, in order to receive instructions at the capital for the establishment of local government in their *aldeia*, and for their election of a mayor to enforce the rules enjoined upon them. This village was organized into the Jesuit *aldeia* of Santo António in October of 1560, the first of the seven new *aldeias* soon to be founded under Grã's direction. In the following year it had a population of 2,000 Christianized natives, and had become the central mission for the other surrounding ones of Bom Jesus, São Pedro, and Santo André.

Grã now proceeded to Santiago, the last of the four Jesuit *aldeias*, mentioned above, that had been established under the direction of Mem de Sá and Nóbrega. The Jesuits already had

missionaries here, and the Indians had been carefully instructed to receive the sacraments of baptism and matrimony from the Father Provincial; two hundred sixty were baptized and forty-three marriages were performed. Many others wished to receive these sacraments, but he postponed the ceremonies until they could be more carefully instructed, as the others had been. Following the wedding ceremonies, a great banquet was held, after which the newly married couples went to where Grã was seated to present him with gifts and to receive his blessings. Besides the Christian marriages, Grã arranged eleven marriages in *lei de natureza*, thus ending polygamous marriages as a first step toward eventual Christian marriage. From Santiago the provincial returned to Espírito Santo, where a missionary well versed in the native language was stationed—now a priest, he had been one of the first of the orphans sent from Portugal on Nóbrega's suggestion back in 1550.<sup>46</sup> After having visited this group of *aldeias*, Grã returned to Bahia to attend to various administrative and religious duties that awaited him.<sup>47</sup>

Meanwhile, the work on the *aldeias* proceeded with great success. The *aldeia* of São João, on the banks of the Pirajá, toward the hinterland, which had been abandoned by its fickle native population in 1560, was now restored, this time on a more favorable site six leagues from Bahia.<sup>48</sup> Grã designated two missionaries for the new residence, one of them well versed in the native tongue. They left for the *aldeia* on March 15, 1561.<sup>49</sup> Here were gathered the natives of thirteen or fourteen Indian villages; it was to become one of the largest Jesuit *aldeias* near Bahia.

<sup>46</sup> Cf. Serafim Leite, "O primeiro embarque de órfãos para o Brasil," *Páginas de História do Brasil*, São Paulo, 1937, 71-80.

<sup>47</sup> The above account is taken from the letter of Father Pires, who accompanied Grã, cited in footnote 44, above, CJ II, 276-279. Cf. also Vasconcellos, *Chronica*, Liv. 2, no. 90; Leite, *História*, II, 55.

Among the matters pressing at the capital were the insistent requests being made from Pernambuco for the establishment of a Jesuit residence there. Grã hoped before long to establish residences in all the captaincies. As for Pernambuco, Nóbrega had established a Jesuit residence there in 1551. After two years the residence had been closed due to the need for missionaries elsewhere, for Nóbrega preferred to concentrate upon the strengthening of assured footholds in and around Bahia and the future São Paulo. Grã now reopened the Jesuit residence in Pernambuco, sending three Jesuits who arrived there on January 19, 1561; CJ II, 282, Ruy Pereira to the members of the Society in Portugal, Pernambuco, April 6, 1561. After several years the residence was again to be abandoned. The unstable character of the Pernambuco residence was not to be ended until 1568, when Grã was sent there under more favorable auspices.

<sup>48</sup> Leite, *História*, II, 52-53.

<sup>49</sup> CJ II, 299, Antônio Blasquez to Father General Lainez, Bahia, September 23, 1561.

Within a few weeks a temporary church had been set up, and one hundred children were being instructed in the school, where Christian doctrine was taught morning and evening by means of the *Dialogue* composed by Grã. Also, evening services were soon being held where one of the Indians best instructed taught the prayers and *Dialogue* to the others. Similar success characterized the work at the other Jesuit *aldeias* and in the neighboring Indian villages which were being brought into the Christian fold. And so it was not long before Grã, even though he had returned to the capital quite ill from his first survey of the *aldeias*, was on the mission trail again in order to perform a number of solemn baptisms and marriage ceremonies.<sup>50</sup> The Lenten season of 1561 was to be long remembered through the famous letter of Father Blasquez, which is one of the principal sources for the following account.

The natives anticipated Grã's Lenten visit, and it was the object of preparations and discussion for months. The magnificent new *aldeia* of São João was the first on the itinerary. Grã was received in a now Christian adaptation of the traditional Indian manner of receiving an important personage. As he approached, the Indian leaders harangued the people, telling them to go out and welcome the provincial. They then went out for over a league to meet him, chanting "We are going to meet our father, who will perfect our lives, and deliver us from the ways of the Devil." Then, upon meeting Grã, first the elders, in gala dress, and then the children, wearing wreaths on their heads, reverently greeted him, with their arms extended upward, saying: "Praised be Jesus Christ!" He gave them his blessing, and they proceeded to the entrance of the *aldeia*, where the young girls and women joined the others, as they led him to the special room which had been prepared for him. Then, Grã and the two resident fathers, all of whom knew the *lingua geral*, examined and confessed those who had been prepared for the sacraments. Solemn religious ceremonies followed, during which he performed one hundred seventy-three baptisms and a dozen marriages. The ceremonies concluded, he left for the *aldeia* of Santo António. After his departure the natives went to the room where he had stayed, and chanted sadly, "Has he gone? Now all is quiet! When he was here all was joyful!" A few days later he was to return to perform more baptisms and marriages, and again the Indians went out to meet him singing in their native tongue:

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, 301.

"We are going out to meet Father Luiz da Grā, who, in our behalf, does not fear rain, nor puddles nor bad roads! Rejoice over his coming, for he brings us the good life!" This time one hundred thirteen more were ready for baptism, eleven couples received Christian marriage, and twenty-eight were married in *lei de natureza*. The same sort of reception, and success, were to characterize Grā's visits to the other *aldeias*.<sup>51</sup>

Some two months previously the natives of various Indian villages had been gathered on the site of a recently abandoned Indian village on the island of Itaparica, some five or six leagues from Bahia. It had by now been organized into the Jesuit *aldeia* of Santa Cruz, with its native mayor, appointed under the supervision of the fathers, and a flourishing school. Two fathers and two brothers were in residence there, and the school already had some three hundred students. Now visited by Grā, one hundred seventy-three were baptized in an impressive ceremony; in due time four hundred fifteen were baptized here. On the eve of Holy Week Grā returned to the capital, ill with fever, but concerned only about his work. Besides attending to administrative tasks, he preached at the Jesuit residence and at the See during Lent, and continued his usual social and devotional work. On Holy Thursday, after humbly bathing the feet of his confreres, Grā, though still tired and weak from his many recent journeys on foot, ascended the pulpit and preached with such fervor and eloquence "that the sermon resembled the Passion itself. . . . Some fainted, and others were weeping so loudly that one could scarcely make himself heard. . . ." Immediately after delivering his sermon at the Jesuit church on Easter Sunday, he set out for the *aldeias*, where he was awaited expectantly by the natives who had been prepared by the resident fathers to receive the sacraments, "for the Indians hold him in such affection that they wish only him to baptize and marry them." Since São Paulo was the nearest and oldest of the Jesuit *aldeias* in the vicinity of Bahia, Grā spent Easter Sunday there. After several days there, where he performed many solemn baptisms and marriages, the tireless apostle to the Indians of Bahia visited successively the Jesuit *aldeias* of Santiago, São João, Santo António, and Espírito Santo. The succession of welcomes, and administering of the sacraments, was much the same everywhere. He now returned to Bahia. After resting for several days, he visited the *aldeia* of Santa Cruz, where, as usual, there were solemn processions,

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, 304-306.

many baptisms, singing, dancing, and general joy and festivity. Returning to Bahia, the next day he was at Santiago; fifteen days later at Espírito Santo, to personally direct the moving of the *aldeia* to a more healthy nearby site; a few days later he was at São João.<sup>52</sup>

After spending two months on these visitations, on the eve of Corpus Christi Grã returned to Bahia, gaunt from living only on roots and other native foods, and suffering from frequent attacks of fever. But he was in high spirits, for a group of Indian leaders of Paraguaçu, representing a number of villages that were constantly harassed by slavers, had requested him to organize them into a Jesuit *aldeia*, and he was already planning for the new establishment. Religious articles were donated by the bishop and the governor. With the *aldeia* of Santo Antônio as the base of operations, a good site was selected, and the new Jesuit residence and *aldeia* of Bom Jesus, about fifteen or sixteen leagues from Bahia, was founded in August of 1561. The natives of fifteen Indian villages within a radius of thirty miles were established on the new site.<sup>53</sup> This accomplished, Grã and his companions returned to Bahia by way of Espírito Santo and Santiago, where, with great pomp and ceremony, solemn baptisms and marriages were performed.<sup>54</sup>

About two weeks later, a large number of baptisms were performed at the Jesuit *aldeia* of São Paulo, at which the bishop honored the natives with his presence. It was a big event at the *aldeia*, and also for Grã, who went there several days early to make feverish preparations for the bishop's visit. Blasquez's delightful description of the event is an excellent illustration of Grã's characteristically tireless energy. The program of events had been meticulously prepared by him, and as Blasquez writes, "the Father Provincial was directing the ceremonies, and since he is very well experienced in these matters, his Excellency [the bishop] would indeed have been embarrassed on many occasions had he not been ever present."<sup>55</sup>

On his return to Bahia, Grã was met by an Indian chief who had traveled some twenty-eight leagues by land to request missionaries for his village. With the enthusiastic approval of the bishop and governor, Grã and two Jesuit companions, with the Indian chief serving as guide, set out southward along the coast.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, 306-313.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, 315-316; Leite, *História*, II, 56.

<sup>54</sup> Blasquez's letter, *op. cit.*, 317.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, 318-319.

After crossing many rivers, and undergoing much hardship, the village was reached, where the Jesuits were well received. The village was in the captaincy of Ilhéus, beyond the border of that of Bahia. Grã ordered the Indians to move their village to a better site, which he selected for them, told them to send for a missionary as soon as the new church and village were built, and, joyful over "the discovery of the fine gold and riches of souls to be saved," he returned to the capital.<sup>56</sup> On the way back he and his companions passed through many erstwhile hostile Indian villages which were won over by the humility, faith, sincerity, and determination of the provincial. Three localities were selected as likely sites for future Jesuit *aldeias*,<sup>57</sup> each nine or ten leagues apart. Grã was loved by the natives, we are told by nearly every Jesuit contemporary who wrote of his work among the *aldeias*, and his reputation among the Indians had spread over a wide area. The *aldeias* continued to be his first concern, and the months that followed saw him continually on the trail whenever there were natives ready for solemn group baptisms or marriages. Of these, perhaps the most significant was the first large celebration of this kind to be held at the *aldeia* of Santa Cruz, on the isle of Itaparica, which took place in September 1561 with the bishop in attendance.<sup>58</sup>

On September 22, 1561, Grã wrote to his superior in Portugal, Father Torres, that the land was so much at peace that it would be difficult to imagine a greater degree of peace and tranquility. He referred to the seven large *aldeias* already established in the vicinity of Bahia, and begged that more missionaries be sent from Portugal to further extend the work of conversion; four more *aldeias* were ready for resident missionaries upon the arrival of additional recruits. "I am seeking every means I can to satisfy the holy starvation of these people in their yearning for the spiritual bread," wrote Grã.<sup>59</sup> He spoke enthusiastically of his recent trip south to Ilhéus, and of the size of the growing *aldeias* already in operation, some with over

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, 319-321; CJ II, 323-325, Leonardo do Valle to the members of the Society in Portugal, Bahia, September 23, 1561; Vasconcellos, *Chronica*, Liv. 2, no. 104.

<sup>57</sup> CJ II, 326-327, Letter of Leonardo do Valle.

<sup>58</sup> This event is described in great detail in *ibid.*, 328-334, with a vivid portrayal of the splendor of the religious ceremonies, and of the character of the gala costumes, dancing, singing, feasting, and festivities that took place at the native Indian *aldeias* on such occasions.

<sup>59</sup> CJ II, 291, Grã to Father Torres, Bahia, September 22, 1561. Afrânio Peixoto writes that this statement "epitomizes the apostolate of Father Luiz da Grã"; *ibid.*, 294, note 166.

2,000 souls. With the arrival of new recruits, he hoped soon to extend the mission field northward to Pernambuco, and remove the barrier of hostile tribes which blocked land communication between there and Bahia. Deploring the lack of vocations among the externs at the Jesuit college in Bahia, Grā urged the sending of youths who could be trained for the Society in Brazil, where they could grow up among the Indians and learn well the native language, so important in the work of conversion. In stressing the need of more missionaries, Grā further referred to the lack of religious instruction provided the slaves working in the homes of white residents, and the need for greater attention to their religion and morality. He spoke glowingly of the unstinting support of the governor and the bishop in the work of conversion.<sup>60</sup>

The extension of Jesuit missionary activity on the *aldeias* surrounding Bahia proceeded with continued success throughout the closing months of 1561. About six days after his return from the solemn baptismal ceremonies at the *aldeia* of Santa Cruz, Grā set out from Bahia to found several new *aldeias*, and to visit the Jesuit residences along the northern coast toward Pernambuco, where more natives were prepared to receive the sacraments of baptism and matrimony. Passing through the Jesuit *aldeias* of Espírito Santo, Santo António, and Bom Jesus, hundreds were baptized by the Father Provincial. At Bom Jesus, on October 12, just two months after the founding of the *aldeia*, the first solemn mass baptism was administered. The entire population of the *aldeia*, over 1,000, gathered in the church for the ceremony. There was tension and excitement, for the rumor had been spread by hostile medicine men that all were being gathered in the church only to be massacred. In the middle of the ceremony all fled from the church in panic. Grā finally persuaded them to return, regained their full confidence, and eight hundred eighty-two were baptized. From here Grā proceeded to an Indian settlement ten leagues from Bom Jesus (twenty-two leagues from Bahia), where, in fulfillment of the previous requests of the natives, a Jesuit *aldeia* was now established with resident missionaries. The reception and festivity which accompanied the founding of this new *aldeia* were similar to those described above in connection with the refounding of São João in March of 1561.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, 292-293. On the payment of tithes by the *aldeia* Indians, to which Grā objected because of their poverty, and which he refers to in the above letter, cf. J. Manuel Espinosa, "Gouveia: Jesuit Lawgiver in Brazil," *MID-AMERICA*, XXIV (January 1942), 35, 43.

The new *aldeia*, founded by Grā in November of 1561, was named São Pedro.<sup>61</sup>

Grā visited several other Indian settlements in this region, where he was well received, and where the natives promised to give up concubinage, drunkenness, and cannibalism. Eight leagues from São Pedro lands were cleared by the natives for a proposed *aldeia*, and a church was built in honor of Santo André. On this excursion, Grā penetrated ten leagues farther, into the lands of a group of the most bitter enemies of those recently won over at Santo André. Here he not only persuaded the native leaders to give up their evil practices, such as eating enemy captives, and to build a church, but succeeded in negotiating peace between them and their erstwhile hostile neighbors. Upon his return to Bahia, the provincial was given special thanks by the governor for having made this important contribution not only to the cause of conversion, but to the pacification of the land.<sup>62</sup>

From Bahia Grā now sent resident missionaries for the founding of Nossa Senhora da Assunção, the region some thirty leagues from Bahia, within the captaincy of Ilhéus, which he had previously visited, and São Miguel, ten leagues closer to Bahia. Both of the new Jesuit *aldeias* were large, for not only the coastal Indians of the vicinity, but others from the interior were gathered there. Thus by the end of November these two additional *aldeias* were founded. At Nossa Senhora da Assunção some 4,000 natives were gathered, and at São Miguel over 2,000. And at the first solemn administering of the sacraments at the former *aldeia*, 1,088 were baptized, and one hundred thirty-seven couples were joined in Christian marriage. Some of the other Indian settlements visited, which were eager to be organized into Jesuit *aldeias* for better protection against hostile tribes and white slavers, could only be given hopes for the future for lack of sufficient missionaries. During the closing months of 1561 and

<sup>61</sup> CJ II, 345-348, Leonardo do Valle to the members of the Society in Portugal, Bahia, June 26, 1562. Father Valle describes in detail the founding of São Pedro, with interesting remarks on the dress of the natives, the native dancing, singing, festivities, etc.

This *aldeia* lasted only a year. A famine caused the dispersion of the natives. Aid was sent them by Governor Mem de Sá, and some Indians returned, establishing themselves there in 1562, where they awaited missionaries that could not be provided for lack of sufficient Jesuit personnel; Leite, *História*, II, 56.

<sup>62</sup> CJ II, 349-351, Letter of Leonardo do Valle, Bahia, June 26, 1562.

Santo André was administered by the Jesuit missionary stationed at São Paulo. By the end of the year there were some 3,000 natives gathered at Santo André; *ibid.*, 355.

the early months of 1562, Grã divided his time between visiting the *aldeias*, where he performed thousands of additional Christian baptisms and marriages, and preaching, hearing confessions, instructing the slaves in the capital, and attending to other matters for the welfare of the natives in and around Bahia. In his crusade against Indian slavery Grã met with some success, through the cooperation of the governor and *ouvidor geral*. His fame had already spread far and wide among the natives as the defender of their freedom, and many whites were constrained to give up slaves they had obtained through unjust traffic. Meanwhile, he worked tirelessly in furthering the many other social, religious, and educational activities of the Jesuit college in Bahia among the Portuguese residents in Bahia proper, and in the neighboring settlements of Antônio de Torres, and the Villa Velha.<sup>63</sup>

Further *aldeia* founding was checked by the lack of sufficient missionaries, and work in the *aldeias* was henceforth primarily that of consolidation. An example of the opportunities for missionary work that lay across the vast hinterland, which was gradually being penetrated by the Jesuits, was the news that Grã's fame had reached the natives of the upper reaches of the São Francisco River. Now the natives of that region wished him to visit them and establish peace between them and their enemies, and thus put an end to their eating one another in tribal vengeance. Grã was enthusiastic, and set out for the interior accompanied by two other Jesuits and a layman, all able linguists. Having traveled northward along the coast for some forty leagues, accompanied by many Indians who were assisting in the enterprise, the party was forced to return to Bahia due to the lack of sufficient food along the route. This expedition, and others like it, was a step forward despite temporary failure, for it helped pave the way for future success.<sup>64</sup>

During the year 1562 Grã continued his periodic visitations to the *aldeias* surrounding Bahia, baptizing and marrying hundreds of natives who were being won from paganism, vice, and cannibalism by the Jesuit missionaries stationed at the various *aldeia* establishments. Meanwhile, he persisted at Pernambuco, where two Jesuits had their hands full ministering to the natives and whites in the city itself and on the surrounding plantations. Tired of awaiting reinforcements from Portugal, and encouraged

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, 351-355, 358-359, 362, 366-368.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, 357.

by the recent ordination of several Jesuits in Brazil, Grã finally sent two fathers to Ilhéus, where a permanent Jesuit residence had long been urged by the Portuguese settlers there. A few months later two others were sent to Porto Seguro, due to the urgings of the people there, despite insufficient missionaries for such widespread dispersion. Grã's expansionist policy, although perhaps not to the liking of his companion Nóbrega, who preferred to concentrate on fewer key points until larger reinforcements were at hand, was bearing fruit nevertheless. But, of course, with the relatively small Jesuit band for such a vast area, many potential mission fields had to wait. Every Jesuit counted, and Grã's concern for each one of his men was a source of constant paternal anxiety, especially whenever the life of one of them was in danger. For example, when Father Luiz Rodrigues, one of the fathers recently sent to Ilhéus, was reported to be dying from a rattlesnake bite, Grã immediately rushed to his aid in person, sending a priest ahead on a swift mount provided by the governor with first aid. After twenty days Father Rodrigues was well again.<sup>65</sup>

A great setback to the work of conversion on the *aldeias* was the great smallpox epidemic of 1563-1564, which spared few of the Indian settlements from Ilhéus north to Pernambuco. Lasting for nearly two years, it was soon accompanied by consternation and flight into the forests on the part of many of the natives, and general famine. Only five *aldeias* survived the epidemic and famine: São João, Santo Antônio, Espírito Santo, Santiago, and São Paulo. On the Jesuit *aldeias* that survived as many as a third of the native population perished in the epidemic. The slave population of the Portuguese settlements of the region was also hard hit. The loss of slave labor through flight or death due to the epidemic, gave occasion for white slave owners to use the Jesuits as scapegoats by reviving the charge that the antislavery activities of the Jesuits were detrimental to the economy of the region, since there were many natives still living an idyllic existence on the Jesuit *aldeias*, free from their grasping hands. During the course of the epidemic the Jesuits served as doctors and

<sup>65</sup> CJ II, 374, Luiz Rodrigues to Gonçalo Vaz, Ilhéus, March 11, 1563; *ibid.*, 379-382, Leonardo do Valle to Gonçalo Vaz, Bahia, May 12, 1563.

A general survey of Grã's activities from 1561-1563 may be found in "Informação dos primeiros aldeiamentos da Baia," authorship attributed to José de Anchieta; CJ III, 352-357.

In the fall of 1564 there were fifty-two Jesuits in Brazil: 10 fathers and 15 brothers at Bahia, 18 religious in São Vicente and Piratininga, 2 at Espírito Santo, 2 at Porto Seguro, 2 at Pernambuco, and 3 at Ilhéus; CJ II, 34.

nurses to the suffering natives, and their college in Bahia was virtually converted into a hospital for their care.<sup>66</sup>

Despite the epidemic the work of conversion on the surviving *aldeias* continued without letup; although solemn baptismal and marriage ceremonies were smaller in size. Grã, on foot, was continually on the trail, visiting and revisiting the surrounding *aldeias* in the effort to win back lost ground. The remarkable success he attained on his visitations was reminiscent of the year 1561, when these *aldeias* were at the peak of their development. The mass administration of the sacraments by him to hundreds of natives on the various *aldeias* during the year 1564, following careful preparation by the resident missionaries, is most brilliantly recorded in great detail in Father Antônio Blasquez's classic contemporary relations. His observations and comments show, among other things, that the setback of 1563-1564 was met by Grã with a religious zeal and tenacity of purpose worthy of special mention. Months at a time he was visiting the *aldeias*, and literally hundreds were being baptized and married by him at solemn religious ceremonies amid all the pomp and splendor of the Church. Grã personally prepared, or directed the preparation of, the elaborate pageants and pilgrimages on special feast days and days of special indulgence at the various *aldeias*. Blasquez's letters describing these events have special value for the student of Brazilian and Portuguese folklore, music, popular drama, and life and manners of the period in general, beyond being of inestimable value in recording the story of the Jesuit efforts to preserve the remaining *aldeias* and win new native converts following the recent setback.<sup>67</sup>

Meanwhile, Grã was not neglecting other important social, religious, and educational duties that kept him frequently at the capital (Bahia): the supervision of the construction of new buildings at the Jesuit college, thanks to the generosity of the governor; the fostering of missionary work among the slaves and whites in the Portuguese settlements and on the plantations of northern Brazil; directing the careful training of the Jesuit students and the forty-odd externs at the Jesuit college in Bahia; ministering to the sick and the infirm, along with his companions; personally intervening to settle personal disputes and controversies among white settlers; awaiting the availability of

<sup>66</sup> CJ II, 382-384, Valle to Vaz, Bahia, May 12, 1563; CJ II, 404-406, Antônio Blasquez to the Father General in Portugal, Bahia, May 30, 1564.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, 406-411; CJ II, 418-426, *id.* to *id.*, Bahia, September 13, 1564.

a boat to the captaincy of Pernambuco, which he was anxious to inspect with the purpose of establishing a college there, which many of the residents had been requesting for some time.<sup>68</sup>

In addition, during the year 1564, Grā's diplomacy put an end to the complaints of those who claimed that the Jesuits were impeding economic progress through their antislavery program, and the claim that fugitive slaves were receiving shelter in the Jesuit *aldeias*. The upshot in this particular instance was the appointment by Governor Mem de Sá of an honorable citizen as captain and protector of the Indians in each Indian *aldeia*. This system revealed openly the oppressive activities of most of the slave owners, and their unwarranted complaints against the Jesuits.<sup>69</sup> Grā, in his capacity as Jesuit provincial, participated in important conferences with Governor Mem de Sá, Bishop Leitão, and Ouvidor Geral Braz Fragoso, which assembled to interpret and promulgate laws pertaining to Indian rights emanating from the tribunal known as the *Mesa de Consciencia* in Lisbon.<sup>70</sup>

During the years 1565 and 1566 Grā, as usual, in his capacity as Jesuit superior, was constantly on the trail to inspect the progress being made by his confreres throughout the northern half of Brazil; while Nóbrega was taking care of things in the south. Now he was visiting the coastal residences at Porto Seguro or Ilhéus, hoping soon to establish a school in the latter town; now he was making the rounds of the *aldeias*, in routine inspection, to strengthen and consolidate those which had survived famine and disease, to administer the sacraments, to arrange the celebration of a particular feast day, for Holy Week services, and the like.<sup>71</sup> Tireless in his zeal to save souls, he was to be found without fail wherever his religious duties called him. His continual journeys on foot appear almost incredible, and were the constant cause of admiration on the part of his fellow religious. He was truly the apostle of northern Brazil.

## V

It will be recalled that Grā long had been requesting of his superiors in Europe that a Visitor be sent to Brazil. Since the arrival of Nóbrega and Grā in Brazil the first General Congrega-

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>70</sup> Vasconcellos, *Chronica*, Liv. 3, no. 41.

<sup>71</sup> Cf. CJ II, 435-442, António Blasquez to the Father Provincial of Portugal, Bahia, May 9, 1565; *ibid.*, 467, Jorge Rodrigues to the members of the Society in Portugal, Ilhéus, August 21, 1565; Vasconcellos, *Chronica*, Liv. 3, no. 88.

tion of the Society of Jesus had met and new orders and regulations in line with general experiences and policies had evolved. Because of special problems arising in Brazil, it was desirable to send someone with authority to help the local Jesuit superiors solve problems difficult, and in some cases virtually impossible, to settle by long-distance overseas correspondence. Thus Father Inácio de Azevedo was sent by the Father General St. Francis Borgia as first Visitor to the province. It was a turning point in the development of Jesuit work in Brazil; as one Jesuit wrote, "the time of tearful planting" was passing, and "the time of joyfully gathering the harvest" was at hand.<sup>72</sup>

Azevedo arrived at Bahia on August 24, 1566, where he was met by the Father Provincial, Grã, at the Jesuit college. There he found thirty religious, and classes in reading, writing, Christian doctrine for children, and Latin and cases of conscience. There were a priest and a brother stationed at each of five flourishing *aldeias* surrounding the city. There were also two Jesuits at Pernambuco, three at Ilhéus, and two at Porto Seguro. After several weeks of conferences and inspection trips in and around Bahia, in October or November the Visitor, accompanied by Grã, set out for the visitation of the captaincies and to confer with Nóbrega. Slowly making their way down the coast, the party reached São Vicente during Lent of 1567. Here Azevedo spent several months settling matters with Grã and Nóbrega. At São Vicente there were twelve Jesuits, and classes in reading, writing, doctrine, and Latin. There were six more Jesuits at Piratininga, from which several fine *aldeias* were administered. In July, Azevedo, accompanied by Grã, Nóbrega, Anchieta, and others, took passage to Rio de Janeiro, where they were present during the attack of Governor Mem de Sá against the ill-fated French attempt to gain a foothold there. Returning to Piratininga, Azevedo, Grã, and Nóbrega concluded plans for the establishment of the principal college for the southern captaincy at Rio, for the founding of which the king had granted an endowment for the support of fifty Jesuits there. Nóbrega was selected to be its first rector. From Piratininga the party returned to Rio to select a site for the future college. Then Azevedo and Grã bade goodby to Nóbrega and Anchieta, the two pillars of the Society in the south, and returned to Bahia, stopping on the way at Espírito Santo, Porto Seguro, and Ilhéus. They reached Bahia in March of 1568.

<sup>72</sup> CJ II, 17.

Since the Visitor was unable to go to Pernambuco, abandoned by the Jesuits the year previous, Grã was assigned to make the visitation at the earliest possible opportunity and to reopen a residence there. Grã carried out this mission in July, leaving four Jesuits there. After having carried forward important work of reorganization, the Visitor, filled with enthusiasm, embarked for Portugal on August 28, 1568. Azevedo did not tarry long in Portugal, and in 1570 he was on his way back to Brazil with thirty-nine companions, only to die with them in a mass martyrdom at sea at the hands of French pirates. The work in Brazil went on unhampered, but the seriousness of this blow at such an important moment in the development of Jesuit activities in Brazil can hardly be overestimated.<sup>73</sup>

## VI

In 1571, no longer provincial, Grã was sent to Pernambuco to investigate the charges of heresy being made against the Jesuit Father Amaro Gonçalves, whom he had left there in 1568, by the notorious exiled ex-priest António de Gouveia. This Gouveia was a clever adventurer who served widely in many a foreign legion, and was known to be immoral, epileptic, and without moral scruples. Frequently before the Inquisition, he always managed to escape into the hinterland, and had a credulous following who looked upon him as a sort of magician and necromancer. At this particular time his mouthings were causing considerable local scandal. Grã succeeded in completely discrediting and bringing about the expulsion of this social menace of Pernambuco. Returning to Bahia, in July of the following year Grã was again in Pernambuco, this time as companion to the new provincial, Inácio Tolosa, on his visitation of the northern captaincy. After several months, in October 1572, Grã and his superior were back in Bahia.<sup>74</sup>

Prior to 1568 Jesuit activities at Pernambuco were precarious for lack of sufficient missionaries to permit continuous residence. When Grã reopened the temporarily abandoned residence that

<sup>73</sup> CJ II, 481-482, Letter of Balthazar Fernandes, Piratinha, December 5, 1567; *ibid.*, 490, Carta Anua, Bahia, January 16, 1568; Peixoto's notes in *ibid.*, 488, note 234, and 497, note 244; Vasconcellos, *Chronica*, Liv. 3, nos. 91, 93, 113, 116, 123; "História de la Fvndacion del collegio de la capitania de Pernambuco [sic]," *Annaes da Biblioteca Nacional*, Rio de Janeiro, XIX (1897), 14.

<sup>74</sup> Leite, *História*, I, 108, 464, 480-484; II, 7, 27, 30, 53-58, 110, 273-276, 298; CJ III, 51, note 4. Grã served for a time as coadjutor of Bishop António Barreiros in administering the Holy Office of the Inquisition, CJ III, 310; "História de la Fvndacion del collegio," *loc. cit.*, 14-15, 19-20.

year a new Jesuit era dawned in Pernambuco. A school for children was now permanently established. Until 1572 the residence had been supported by the college at Bahia, and alms from the local residents. In the latter year Grā went from door to door begging alms for its support. Gradually the residence grew. By 1574 there were ten Jesuits in Pernambuco, including the brothers. The college had one hundred two students: seventy in the elementary classes, and thirty-two in the humanities. In the year 1576 King Sebastião endowed the college, thus assuring its permanency, the third royally endowed Jesuit college of Brazil. This was a momentous occasion in the academic history of colonial Brazil.

Grā was appointed the first rector of the newly endowed college, and in 1577, after serving two years as rector of the college of Bahia for the second time, he returned there to spend the remaining years of his life. He served as rector of the college at Pernambuco from 1577 to 1589, and has been described as "the most able rector at Pernambuco in the XVIth century." His constructive work there was remarkable. From the point of view of indebtedness, the college was better off than those of Bahia and Rio, due in part to the generosity of the Portuguese residents of the rich captaincy. Under Grā's administration the college grew from an elementary school to one which offered advanced courses in arts and theology. A number of secular priests as well as Jesuits received their preliminary training there. In the eighteenth century it came to be known as the Real Colégio de Olinda. Meanwhile, by the 1590's the church attached to the Jesuit residence came to be described as one of the most beautiful in all Brazil. Lasting work was finally being realized by the Jesuits in Pernambuco: a college and church; literary, dramatic, and school activities; the organization of religious confraternities; more regular visits to the surrounding plantations; moral betterment; organized defense of the moral rights of the Indian and Negro slaves; spiritual unity; mission building. By the 1590's there were two Jesuits residing at each of four Indian *aldeias*, and four others were visited from the college at Pernambuco. The cycle of instability of the Jesuit residence at Pernambuco ended with Grā's work, and from then on it was not to be closed until the eighteenth century. The historian Leite has referred to him as "the great apostle" of Pernambuco.<sup>75</sup>

<sup>75</sup> Leite, *História*, I, 452-497; "História de la Fvndacion del collegio," *loc. cit.*, 9-54; Cardim, *Tratados*, 292-293.

## VII

The immensity of Brazil seems small when viewed in the perspective of Grā's numerous and distant missionary journeys. There was no place in Brazil where Jesuits had trod which was not familiar ground to him, from Piratininga to Paraíba. He accompanied Visitor Azevedo on his visitation of the province in the years 1567-1568. In 1573, because of his familiarity with the problems of the land, he was chosen to accompany the provincial in his visitation of the captaincies of Pernambuco, Porto Seguro, Espírito Santo, Rio de Janeiro, and São Vicente. He almost lost his life in a shipwreck off Espírito Santo. In 1575 the provincial Inácio Tolosa sent him to Rio Real with Brother Francisco Pinto, "because he is very experienced in the conversion of the Indians, and is known and loved by all."<sup>76</sup> One of the ancients of the province in years of service, Grā was among Visitor Gouveia's most respected advisers during the latter's famous visitation of 1584-1589. Grā accompanied the Visitor on his trips throughout the captaincy of Pernambuco, and journeyed with him to Bahia in the fall of 1584. Returning to Pernambuco, he was called back to Bahia by the Visitor to participate in the settling of provincial matters there in October of 1585.<sup>77</sup> As late as 1593, at the age of seventy, traveling on foot, "like a youth of twenty years," he made the visitation of Paraíba for the provincial Father Beliarte.<sup>78</sup>

Grā was one of the most noble figures of sixteenth-century Brazil. He fostered the strict observance of the Constitutions of the Society. His most notable work was among the native Indians of the Jesuit *aldeias* of Bahia and Pernambuco. The most extensive catechizing of the Indians in sixteenth-century Brazil originated on the Jesuit *aldeias* surrounding Bahia during the period of Grā's activities there. He was a zealous defender of Indian liberty, and a firm opponent of slavery.<sup>79</sup> He promoted the study of the Tupi language, and was one of the active leaders in the movement toward the scientific study and general adaptation and use of the *lingua geral* among the native tribes.<sup>80</sup> Well-trained in civil law, arts, and theology, and of broad cultural interests, he was not only an apostle to the Indians, and an ex-

<sup>76</sup> CJ III, 51, note 4; Leite, *História*, I, 222, II, 473.

<sup>77</sup> Cardim, *Tratados*, 296, 297, 318.

<sup>78</sup> Leite, *História*, II, 473.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 197, 198, 200, 202, 243-244, 283, 302, 321, 335, 347-349, 353, 356, 388.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 557, 560, 564, 587, 590.

ample of poverty, humility, and temperance, but was one of the most cultured members of the Society of Jesus in the sixteenth century. Grã's as yet unpublished official correspondence constitutes a mine of basic general information on the Brazilian scene, the Jesuit *aldeias*, and aboriginal customs and acculturation.<sup>81</sup>

Perhaps lacking the energy and administrative capacity of Nóbrega, and the brilliance of Anchieta, he stood midway between them, prudent and balanced.<sup>82</sup> He was loved and respected by all, especially by the people of Pernambuco, where he spent his last years. They went to him with all their problems, spiritual and temporal, and he was always ready to assist them. Visitor Gouveia paints a charming picture of the venerable old gentleman, by then becoming too old and infirm for active administrative work, in a letter from Pernambuco, written during his visit there in 1584:

The Father Rector, although now quite old, is still full of energy, and is a tireless worker. He never has drunk wine, which is a rarity in these parts. He sleeps little at night, lying on his bed in his clothes; he preaches frequently and well. Everyone loves and respects him. . . . He is humble, affable, prudent, solid and exemplary.<sup>83</sup>

A beloved ancient of the province, he died at the College of Pernambuco, on November 16, 1609, at the age of eighty-six, after an apostolate of fifty-six years in Brazil<sup>84</sup>—one of the memorable Jesuit pioneer leaders of sixteenth-century Brazil: "Nóbrega, the founder and leader . . . Anchieta, the saint and man of letters . . . Grã, the example of poverty."<sup>85</sup>

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<sup>81</sup> Three Grã letters are printed in NCJ, 160-169, 177-185, and part of another in CJ II, 291-293. Others are quoted or cited in Leite's *História*, I-II, *passim*.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 474.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 475; cf. also Cardim, *Tratados*, 294.

<sup>84</sup> Leite, *História*, II, 475. Garcia, in Cardim, *Tratados*, 355, note 56, following Franco, 241, gives the date of Grã's death as May 5, 1613.

<sup>85</sup> Leite, *História*, II, 504. Franco, Vasconcellos, and all the other early Jesuit writers attest to Grã's asceticism and poverty. According to Franco, 242: "In his dress he displayed extreme poverty, for in the early days the poverty of the fathers who founded that province was great; Father Grã went barefoot until the governor, D. Duarte, gave him a pair of shoes; . . . always he displayed the same poverty. In his last years he was granted permission to return to the kingdom, where he would have greater comforts and care. He refused this favor, preferring to die among his Brazilian Indians, where the venerable and saintly old man spent his last days. The venerable Fr. Pedro da Costa, while in prayer, saw his soul ascend to heaven."

## Gilbert J. Garraghan: In Memoriam

Father Gilbert J. Garraghan, S. J., died in his room in the Faculty Building of Loyola University, Chicago, at five minutes past ten in the evening of June 6, 1942. He was active to the very last moments of his life. A half hour before his passing he approved of a photograph of himself which was to be used for publicity purposes. Shortly after this he was at the telephone making arrangements for his departure for Cleveland where he was to deliver the sermon lying prepared on his desk. He stopped as was his custom for a prayer in the domestic chapel before going to his room. Within a few minutes of ten o'clock he stepped into the corridor to request a doctor. Two priests making him comfortable in his chair attended him in his dying moments, administering the last sacraments of the Church. He was buried June 10 from St. Ignatius Church in the Jesuit plot of All Saints Cemetery, Desplaines.

Father Garraghan was born in Chicago, August 14, 1871. His elementary education was given in the Foster School, 1878-1882. For the next three years he attended St. Ignatius High School. He followed this secondary training with four years, 1885-1889, in St. Ignatius College, receiving his A. B. degree. On September 1, 1890, he became a novice in the Society of Jesus and made his novitiate at Florissant, Missouri, 1890-1892, thereafter taking his vows in religion. After one year in the juniorate he spent three years, 1893-1896, studying philosophy in the scholasticate of St. Louis University, St. Louis. From the fall of 1896 to the spring of 1901 he taught in St. Xavier College, Cincinnati, Ohio. After this magisterium he returned to the St. Louis University School of Divinity for the years 1901-1905, being ordained priest in June 1904. His finishing period as a religious was undergone in the tertianship at Florissant, Missouri, 1905-1906.

As a priest and professor he lectured first for one year at The Creighton University, Omaha, Nebraska, and then became instructor of the young Jesuits at the Florissant juniorate from 1907 to 1911. He was then appointed socius or assistant to the provincials of the Missouri Province of the Society of Jesus, which office he held from 1911 to 1921, and 1927 to 1928. Residing chiefly at St. Louis University during these years he had opportunities for historical studies and research, and thus was

able to attain to the doctorate in history in 1919. His earlier years had been devoted especially to English literature. His years 1921-1925 were given to research and writing; some months of 1924-1925 were spent in the Roman archives. With the exception of the scholastic year 1927-1928, he was attached to the Graduate School of St. Louis University from 1925 to 1932, serving as head of the History Department in the last named year. In 1929 he was elected editor of *MID-AMERICA* by the Illinois Catholic Historical Society, a position held through 1934. He came to Loyola University, Chicago, in 1932, where he was assigned to research. The following year he again went to Rome to complete his monumental work on the Jesuits in the central part of North America. He returned to Loyola in October 1935 and to his death was professor of history in research, associated with the Institute of Jesuit History.

Father Garraghan is known for numerous contributions to history. It is impossible at the moment to tabulate his many articles in historical magazines and encyclopedias or to list his affiliations with learned societies. His books are: *Newman's Literature* (ed.), 1912; *Prose Types in Newman*, 1916; *Catholic Beginnings in Kansas City*, 1919; *Catholic Church in Chicago*, 1921; *St. Ferdinand, Story of an Ancient Parish*, 1923; *Chapters in Frontier History*, 1934; *Marquette, Ardent Missionary, Daring Explorer*, 1937; *Jesuits of the Middle United States*, three volumes, 1938.

## Notes and Comment

*A Spiritual Conquest—The Jesuit Reductions in Paraguay, 1610-1767*, is the title of a very suggestive symposium published by the students of Marygrove College, Detroit, Michigan, 1942. The brochure, containing 73 pages, double columns, evaluates the Jesuit Reductions of Paraguay as an evidence to show that "whenever Christian principles have been honestly applied to the life of a people they have worked to the advantage of the individual and the community." The volume contains 28 well-documented essays organized under the following parts: Missionary Labors in Hispanic America; The Jesuit Reductions, Ideal States?; The Land and the People of Old Paraguay; The Christian Way of Life; The Destruction of the Reductions; The Evaluation of the Reductions. A selective bibliography containing 256 items—which, incidentally, is up to date, a welcome sign to the critical reader—concludes the study.

Madeline W. Nichols' recent study entitled *The Gaucho—Cattle Hunter, Cavalryman, Ideal of Romance*, Inter-American Bibliographical and Library Association, Series I, Vol. 7, Washington, D. C., 1942, pp. 152, is the first comprehensive bibliography of the rôle of the Gaucho in Argentine history and literature. It contains 1,431 items, and is as up to date as was humanly possible considering the fact that a bibliography of Argentine literature on the Gaucho to be up to the minute would require continuous monthly supplements. The work is more than a bibliography, for Miss Nichols' sixty-page Introduction is divided into eight chapters: 1. Who was the Gaucho?; 2. How a Gaucho Lived; 3. The Pastoral Society in Which a Gaucho Lived; 4. The Vaqueria; 5. Contraband Traders; 6. Gaucho Frontiersmen; 7. The Gaucho in War; 8. The Gaucho of Romance. These constitute the best summary of the rôle of the Gaucho in Argentine life and literature thus far published. It is a work of fundamental importance to the student of Argentine history and literature.

Attention is called to Harvey L. Johnson's fine study of the Jesuit theater in sixteenth-century New Spain entitled *An Edition of 'Triunfo de los Santos,' With a Consideration of Jesuit School Plays in Mexico before 1650*, Publications of the University of Pennsylvania, Series in Romance Languages and Literature, XXI, Philadelphia, 1941, pp. 179.

The well-known Brazilian scholars Afrânio Peixoto, Rodolfo Garcia, and Osvaldo Braga, have enriched the series of publications of the Brazilian Academy of Letters with their excellent critical edition of José Basilio da Gama's *O Uruguai*, Rio de Janeiro, 1941.

## Book Reviews

*The Coming of the Civil War.* By Avery Craven. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1942. Pp. ix, 491.

The first and last paragraphs of this book recount the story of the North Carolina soldier at Appomattox who "passed judgment on a generation" by drawling "Damn me if I ever love another country." With this story, and with an emphatic prefatory denial of "pro-Southern" bias, Professor Craven approaches the coming of the Civil War from the Southern angle. His materials have been drawn from Southern manuscripts, newspapers, pamphlets, and monographs. The nature of the materials, rather than any intent of the author, gives the book a Southern viewpoint.

Professor Craven's story begins with a description of American sections in 1830, and an exposition of the Southern way of life. He discusses the Southern agricultural depression of 1800 to 1832, evaluates slavery as a labor system and the Negro as a social problem, and describes the extension of the cotton kingdom in the Southwest. He finds only sectional rivalry until the Abolitionists, adding a moral and a democratic appeal to the forces of sectional rivalry, launched an emotional attack on the South. "To the normal strength of sectional ignorance and distrust they added all the forces of Calvinist morality and American democracy, and thereby surrounded every Northern interest and contention with holy sanction and reduced all opposition to abject depravity." Thus attacked, the Southerners took to their pens to defend slavery, and politicians molded new political appeals from the controversy. Calhoun identified expansion and the protection of slavery, and began to build a Southern bloc. Counter-effort came from David Wilmot, whose "Proviso became the symbol of Northern interests in conflict with the interests of the South." The new alignment produced the Crisis of 1850, and the Compromise was accepted because the issues "were still largely political rather than moral, and because sectional symbols and stereotypes were not completed. . . . Until 'Black Republicanism' had made its appearance, Southern common folk could not wholeheartedly believe that the North wanted to reduce their section to dependence and social ruin. Until Uncle Tom, Bleeding Kansas, 'Bully' Brooks, Dred Scott, and John Brown had done their work, the emotional force necessary to complete the distortions was not present."

During the fifties, Southern nationalists worked to build self-consciousness and economic self-sufficiency in the South. At the beginning Conservatives of the Northeast and of the South were willing to accept the Compromise and return to peace. But the Northwest was not quiet.

Already restless over tariffs, lands, internal improvements, and finance, the region reacted violently against the fugitive slave law, and even more violently to the Kansas-Nebraska Bill. "Out of this tangle and mixture of economic, political, and moral discontent . . . came the new attitudes toward the South and slavery which were to give rise to the Republican Party and the struggle for Kansas." The new emotions erected frontier squabbles in Kansas into a crusade for freedom, and made a saint of John Brown. The Republican Party capitalized on the emotions, and the Democratic split gave them a victory over the Conservative elements in the nation. The distortions and the accumulated hatreds of the years brought open battle.

Perhaps this account is not quite so revolutionary or sensational as the publisher's jacket blurb claims. It is, however, the first successful effort to evaluate the emotional content of the era of sectional controversy. Professor Craven has a felicitous pen, and an aptness in quotation. Both the student and the general reader will find his book stimulating and interesting.

W. B. HESSELTINE

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*The Old South: The Founding of American Civilization.* By Thomas Jefferson Wertenbaker. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1942. Pp. xiv, 364. Illustrated.

This is a collection of eight essays on aspects of the civilization of the Old South. The word "collection" is not used to indicate that they have been published before, but that they are related only insofar as they are all on the same broad subject; any one could stand separate republication. The author discusses the geographical distribution of the many cultures which went to make up the not-so-solid—south, the intellectual life of the tobacco land aristocracy, colonial architecture from Virginia to Georgia, the migration from salt estuaries up to the tablelands above the falls, the arts and handicrafts of the Old South, and the use and abuse of the fat rich soil. A critical evaluation of a book which speaks in tones of authority on population problems, the history of ideas, and the fine arts from ploughing to architectural design, is probably beyond the competence of any one reviewer. So this admirer of Professor Wertenbaker will be content to "notice" his conclusions.

These conclusions are as follows. (1) The Old South was not solid, but was a "melting pot" as other sections were. (2) The Southern cavalier is the protagonist of a pious legend. No nobles came to those warm fertile lands, but the soil and the system of land tenure produced an untitled nobility, the members of which discovered rare coats-of-arms hanging on their family trees and promptly forgot the inconvenient majority of lower class ancestors. (3) Despite the com-

mon concept of the semiliterate huntin' an' shootin' aristocrat, Jefferson, Washington, and Madison were not freaks, not a contrast to their class, but were "outstanding examples of the educated, cultured, widely read wealthy class, whose interests varied from statecraft to astronomy, from music to philosophy, from medicine to gardening" (p. 70). (4) The Old South was the place where the only original contribution to the fine arts was made by American colonials: architecture. (5) The chapter on the clash of Tuckahoe (tidewater people) and Cohee (European immigrants from Pennsylvania southwards) concludes that this was the first instance of a merger of fresh European cultural patterns and established American patterns; that it was a test laboratory of American civilization. (6) A survey of the neglected arts and crafts of the Old South leads the author to conclude that the artisan class was important in the structure of society and that its later disappearance was a blow to an economically unsound aristocracy, which needed a bit more of democracy to survive in this country. (7) The system of land tenure was the chief cause of the Southern aristocracy; the custom of vast grants allowed one in fifty to reach the brilliant apex of an unsound society.

This book is a good cure for those who have fed too much on the textbooks which make the Old South out to be a relatively homogeneous unit. Fifty-six well-chosen illustrations (most from the Historic Building Survey and from Williamsburg) well illustrate the text and the author's taste. There are minor flaws, such as the use of "grog" to indicate a seventeenth-century drink, the misspelling of the name of the Merchant Taylor's School (p. 24), and so on, but nothing is apparent to this reporter which would change the doctrines advanced by Professor Wertenbaker. Lovers of the romantic legend of the ante bellum South will find some of his remarks a little astringent, but astringents may be good for thin skins.

MARSHALL SMELSER

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*Pichardo: Limits of Louisiana and Texas, III.* Edited by Charles Wilson Hackett. University of Texas Press, Austin, 1941. Pp. xxii, 623.

This volume continues the work to which Professor Hackett has devoted his energies for more than a decade. In form it reproduces the excellences of the two preceding volumes. The same editorial style is continued in the ample cross references, the large and useful index, the bibliography identifying most of the printed citations of Pichardo.

The argument of the volume aims to substantiate the line drawn by D'Anville in 1746 as the boundary properly separating Louisiana from Texas. After a long digression on the De Soto route west of the Mississippi, the author takes up the expeditions of La Salle and of the later Frenchmen who explored and settled in the "Plains of Quivira."

He devotes much time to "proving" the injustice of the incursions of both French and American intruders, and he furnishes some pertinent contemporary discussions of geographical and political principles.

The merit of this work for the historian of today lies in the abundant and often unpublished documentation that Pichardo copies bodily in his text. It is a kind of 1812 *Hakluyt* of Spanish and French travels in Lower Louisiana. As a statement in politics, aside from a good survey of the origin and development of the doctrine of natural boundaries built upon the treatise of Pierre Marca in the 1640's, the argument seems to be that a few settlements or black lines on the map entitled Spain to claim exclusive ownership of most of North America until the forebearance of her kings allowed France to retain part of the Mississippi Valley. The discussion, however, illustrates the story behind the Adams-Onis Treaty, as a report for the fact-finding commission.

From the standpoint of historical composition, the work of Pichardo does not appear to merit the eulogy of the editor (III, xxii): "it would be superfluous to attempt to indicate in this brief introduction the contributions—fundamental and conclusive—which he (Pichardo) makes in the above-cited pages to the history of the 'territory that the French took on the plains of Cibola.' These conclusions of the erudite cleric will—if they have not already done so—stand the test of time and historical investigation." For his day, Pichardo was certainly quite critical in sifting and appraising his materials, but he is outdated on almost every page. To trace the route of De Soto he relied on Garcilaso de la Vega and Herrera, and he buried the conqueror at the mouth of the Red River! In this connection it might have been a timely gesture for Hackett to include the 1939 Report of the United States De Soto Expedition Commission, no matter how imperfectly their work was done. The narratives of French colonial travels in the Mississippi Valley, and the careful work done on them by scholars such as Delanglez, show that much is desired in the work both of the author and of the editor. And when one reads the dictum of Pichardo (I, 423): "I have not the least proof for this last statement, but I am firmly convinced that it is true," he feels disinclined to extend too large a bill of credit to the science of 1812. Finally, it was Pichardo who put Ponce de León "deep in the heart of Texas!"

The old gentleman, a Jesuit until the suppression of that order, and afterward an Oratorian, was eighty years of age when he finished his treatise. The work is surely a tribute to his wide learning and his remarkable vitality, as it is likewise an honor to the state of knowledge in the Mexico of that date. But he labored under immense difficulties in this strictly geographical problem. He himself cited (I, 316) the note of C. F. Cassini, that "the smallest error concerning the longitude of Mexico, which is that found on Father Alzate's map, is still until the present time  $2^{\circ} 44'$ "; and on the following page he con-

tinued: "But if there is still such discrepancy concerning the longitude of Mexico, what will it be with regard to all the other less important places?"

The editor offers copious annotations in identification of localities and personages. There are a few slips in cross notation. No enlightenment is offered to one who would like to know the depository of documents cited solely by numbers. Other qualities of the footnotes have received comment in earlier reviews in learned journals. The work is straightforward from start to finish, and it undoubtedly makes a valuable supplement for the study of colonial Louisiana and Texas.

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*Stuffed Saddlebags: The Life of Martin Kundig, Priest, 1805-1879.* By Peter Leo Johnson, D. D. Bruce Publishing Company, Milwaukee, 1942. Pp. iii-viii, 297.

In his *Stuffed Saddlebags*, the Reverend Peter Leo Johnson has presented a well-rounded picture of the Reverend Martin Kundig, pioneer priest in Ohio, Michigan, and Wisconsin. As background for Father Kundig's early life, the author has described not only the family life of the Kundigs, which was characterized by true piety, but also the political conditions in their native Switzerland, when the Swiss Catholics were engaged in the defense of local and religious liberty against the revolutionary party.

After a Roman interlude, during which the young student was a member of the Papal Guard, the scene of his life labor was settled by a call to work in the American mission field. With him on his voyage to the United States was Reverend John Martin Henni, destined to become the first Catholic bishop of Milwaukee. Fathers Henni and Kundig had been fellow students at Lucerne and in Rome, and, after nearly forty years work together in the Milwaukee diocese, they were to celebrate their golden jubilee in the year 1879.

Father Kundig's earliest American activities were in Cincinnati, where he worked among the German Catholics. In 1833 Detroit was made a diocese, and Father Résé, appointed bishop, selected Father Kundig for service in the new diocese. During the period spent in Michigan, Father Kundig carried on many activities in addition to his pastoral duties. He was choirmaster in several churches and organized the St. Cecilian Society. A Sunday school for Catholics was also organized and day schools were started. Another of his activities was the encouragement of temperance societies. He officiated as superintendent of the poor in Wayne County, planned a hospital and an orphanage, of which latter he was manager.

Father Kundig's selfless devotion to cholera victims during the epidemic of that scourge in Detroit in 1832, recalls to mind St. Charles

Borromeo's work among the sufferers from the plague in Milan several centuries earlier. With no thought of danger to himself, the priest cared for the sick, the dying, and the dead. From house to house he went with an improvised ambulance, collected the sick and bore them to the hospital quarters.

For Midwest readers the story of Father Kundig's activities in the Milwaukee diocese, set up in 1843, is of peculiar interest. Much of his time was spent in traveling through the diocese, building and organizing churches and schools. On foot, on horseback, by cart or sled, in all kinds of weather, he covered the ground. The recital of his visits may well be called a roll call of the early Catholic churches in southern Wisconsin.

The reader of *Stuffed Saddlebags* will finish the book with a conception of Father Martin Kundig as a high-minded and faithful priest with a keen interest in every phase of the lives of his people: as a builder of churches and schools; as a laborer with the sick and the poor; as a musician, who fostered music in the Church; as a founder of a Catholic weekly paper, *Die Columbia*; as a citizen interested in civic as well as moral betterment. Above all, he was actuated by a strong faith.

The book has many bibliographical footnotes and a comprehensive index.

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*Crusaders of the Rio Grande: The Story of Don Diego de Vargas and the Reconquest and Refounding of New Mexico.* By J. Manuel Espinosa. Institute of Jesuit History, Chicago, 1942. Pp. 410. Maps.

Here at last is the book which gives us the complete story of the reconquest of New Mexico; and few scholars are better equipped than Dr. Espinosa to deal with the subject. His mastery of the documents of the period and his familiarity with the geography of Upper New Mexico well attest this fact.

Dr. Espinosa provides a setting for his narrative in a twenty-four page "Prologue" which summarizes the history of New Mexico before the arrival of Vargas. A few pages suffice to give the reader the facts of the little known early life of the Reconqueror. Dr. Espinosa then proceeds to relate in great detail the subsequent career of Vargas. Four chapters deal with the preliminary phase of the reconquest in the fall of 1692. Nine chapters are concerned with the final recovery and settlement of Upper New Mexico, from late 1693 through the harrowing days of the revolt of 1696. The remaining three chapters are given over to general Indian affairs, to Vargas' notable quarrel with the Santa Fé *cabildo* and Governor Cubero, and to the date and circumstances attending the death of the Reconqueror. The "Epilogue"

rounds out the story by highlighting the significant developments of the eighteenth century. Five maps help the reader keep his bearings, while the bibliography is evidence of the thoroughness of the work.

In short, there is much to praise and little to condemn in Dr. Espinosa's book. Some may feel that the author stands too close to the protagonist, never lets Vargas out of his sight, and thereby has his vision somewhat marred. One feels that the supporting cast merited more generous treatment. Editorial slips are rare. "Sobaipujares" (p. 39) may refer to the Sobaipuris, and "as follows" (p. 105, n. 47) should not be italicized. Elsewhere the book shows extreme care in preparation. Dr. Espinosa writes with grace, although not always with the greatest of simplicity. But these are all minor criticisms. Scholars will recognize in the book an important contribution to the literature of the Southwest.

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